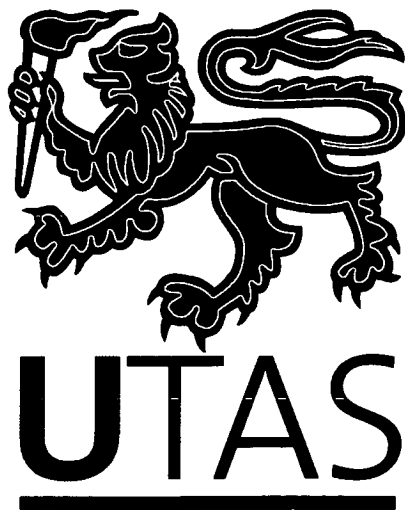


**Crime prevention, community safety and Clarendon Vale:
local visions for healthy communities**

January 2013

Michael C. Kenny



Contents	Page No.
Forward	5
Abstract	6
Chapter 1 - Introduction	7
Methodology	7
Chapter 2 - Crime prevention in Australia	11
<i>Community crime prevention</i>	16
<i>Theory, politics and the changing paradigm of crime prevention</i>	19
<i>International context</i>	21
<i>Place</i>	2
Chapter 3 – Classifying crime prevention theory	24
Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED)	26
<i>The active offender</i>	28
<i>An ecological perspective</i>	28
Situational crime prevention	29
<i>Evidence for situational crime prevention</i>	31
Guardianship	31
Community-based crime prevention	34
<i>The politics of Australian crime prevention</i>	34
<i>Place management</i>	38
<i>Ideological trends</i>	39
Chapter 4 -Why community development?	41
<i>Social problems as risk factors</i>	43
<i>Communitarianism</i>	44
<i>Community development in action</i>	44

Chapter 5- Deciding what to do	46
<i>Implementation failure</i>	49
<i>The political dimension of crime prevention</i>	50
<i>Mechanisms of power and influence</i>	51
Chapter 6 -Overview of Clarendon Vale	52
Crime and safety in Clarendon Vale	54
Interview findings	58
National crime prevention strategies	75
Tasmanian crime, social policy and community development	77
<i>Whole of government' and 'social inclusion' policy</i>	78
<i>Inequality and disadvantage</i>	78
Discussion	79
<i>Contemporary media</i>	79
Local Opportunities	81
Chapter 7 - Conclusion	85
References	88
Appendices	94
A - Information Sheet	94
B - Consent Form	97
C - Interview Guide	98
D - Twenty-five techniques of situational crime prevention	100
E - Seven misconceptions of situational crime prevention	101
List of Figures	
Figure 1 - Cohen and Felson's crime triangle	47
Figure 2 - Clarendon Vale in relation to Hobart	52

Figure 3 -

Old (right) and new (left) CVNC, Child and Health Centre (background) 54

Figure 4 – Street map of Clarendon Vale 59

Figure 5 - Clarendon Vale (Google Earth) approximating street map 59

Figure 6 – Open parkland within Clarendon Vale 60

Figure 7 – Re-offending Rate 77

Figure 8 – Total offences Recorded 77

Forward

This research project has received ethical approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network which is constituted under the National Health & Medical Research Council. Interview participants were provided with an Information Sheet (Appendix A) and Consent Form (Appendix B) prior to any audio recordings being undertaken. These recordings were subsequently transcribed and de-identified by use of pseudonyms. The researchers gratefully acknowledge the support and assistance of the Clarendon Vale Neighbourhood Centre and all who contributed directly or indirectly to this research project.

Abstract

This research examines the experiences of residents of Clarendon Vale, a suburb of Hobart, Tasmania. It seeks to record the narratives of residents within the local community, with an emphasis upon their perceptions of crime and safety locally, the social and environmental factors which generate crime and safety concerns and finally, their aspirations for change. This discussion considers theoretical explanations that might account for crime and safety issues locally and potential strategies that might be deployed to both reduce crime and create a safer community. Within this context, debate over 'what works', economic rationalism, neo-liberal ideologies and governance structures are observed to have important consequences, shaping which crime prevention strategies are most commonly applied and to whom, potentially neglecting other strategies which might not only address the issues of crime and safety, but some of the underlying structural, social and economic factors which contribute to their local characteristics. To this end, particular opportunities within crime prevention and community development discourse are identified as being relevant to the local community, as are some of the social, political and economic challenges inherent in undertaking crime prevention and community development.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

The primary focus of this research is upon the role of local communities themselves within the wider contexts of community safety and crime prevention, being conscious of the policy, practice, cultural and economic conditions that prevail. It considers how local communities and individuals might engage with and become more influential actors in the development and implementation of policy and practice at a local level, emphasising 'grassroots' or 'bottom-up' mechanisms to this end. It is argued that the devolution of resources and power implicit in such adopting community-based mechanisms not only supported theoretically but indeed a logical extension of Australia's broader contemporary political, economic and social policy. The intention here is to make some tentative observations about how residents of Clarendon Vale in particular might more effectively engage with the institutions and structures that impact upon their lives, effecting changes that reflect their personal concerns and aspirations. As such, the acknowledged bias in this research is that it attempts to identify opportunities for local residents to participate effectively as members of a society where resources and power are unevenly distributed. The observations made seek to genuinely represent and consider the views and needs of local residents, mindful of the ongoing and more ambitious tasks associated with community development, notions such as social inclusion, participation and equity:

The challenge for progressive criminologists is to develop strategies and modes of intervention that will empower communities and collectives of people to take action for themselves on behalf of themselves, and that will confront the social injustice and economic inequality that forms the basis of social harm (White 2001: 135).

This research builds to some extent upon previous research examining the types of services, supports and interventions available to young people in the suburb of Clarendon Vale. That research concluded that Clarendon Vale Neighbourhood Centre (CVNC), in providing significant levels of

support, advocacy, social and recreational opportunities for local residents, would benefit from ongoing research into the needs and concerns of the local community. In this instance, local residents' views were canvassed on their experience of living in Clarendon Vale. Theory, policy and practice considerations involving crime prevention and community development inform the subsequent analysis, the narratives provided by local residents being the central to this discussion. This current research has the following objectives:

- To review contemporary literature and policy relating to crime prevention, community safety and community development.
- To record the narratives and views of local residents, providing a written account representing these varied views.
- To consider the types of opportunities, programs, strategies, interventions and processes that might enable local residents to engage with and effectively participate in processes involving crime prevention, community safety and community development.

Methodology

This research project is essentially qualitative in nature within a broadly realist approach. There is an increasing trend in criminology towards evaluative research which Travers (2005: 39) notes “has almost become a dominant paradigm in researching criminal justice”. This research adopts a more exploratory approach, looking at the small-scale and local experiences of crime, safety and aspirations for change. It employs ethnographic forms of social enquiry, being concerned with local narratives and meanings given to the wider political, economic and cultural factors that shape the lives of individuals. Elements of media and discourse analysis also inform some of the observations made here, being conscious of the cultural, political and policy contexts in which they occur. By undertaking a literature review this research aims to identify key considerations and factors associated with theoretically and strategically sound community-based crime and safety

interventions. In adopting a realist approach this project considers issues that Morgan, Boxall, Lindeman and Anderson (2012: 5-6) identify as being important to this form of evaluation of crime prevention. These include a regard for the contexts and mechanisms by which crime prevention interventions take place, the availability of funding, stakeholder participation, available knowledge, expertise and not least, the prevailing political and policy environment.

In implementing programs and strategies that are explicitly identified as crime prevention initiatives, there is potential for stigmatisation and counter-productive outcomes. The primary ethical and practical consideration here however was gaining some acceptance, within the local community, of the objectives and merits of the research itself. It should be emphasised that the individuals who participated in this research, directly and indirectly, were generous of their time and welcoming. The key consideration for the field researcher therefore was to become familiar with some of the local issues and observations through informal discussion, only formally recording a series of eight interviews with local residents when they themselves felt comfortable in doing so. Such an approach contrasts with the more impromptu survey/questionnaire/interview approaches commonly incorporated into contemporary evaluation and which are tailored to somewhat formal, possibly remote and abstract, contact with potential participants (e.g. letter drops, phone surveys). Such approaches necessarily limit the scope and range of topics investigated, tending to rely upon simple question-answer formats emphasising closed questioning, self-rating scales or other responses conducive to quantitative comparisons over time.

In undertaking this project, it was intended that local residents be provided with an opportunity to relate their experiences of living in Clarendon Vale, their aspirations for the local community and their reflections upon possible strategies for change. To achieve this end, the field researcher collaborated with Clarendon Vale Neighbourhood Centre's co-ordinator and other participants in

developing a suitable approach. A soft engagement style was agreed upon, the field researcher becoming a participant in Neighbourhood Centre activities and informally developing a rapport with local residents over some weeks, prior to undertaking formal interviews. This approach was instrumental in developing an understanding of and confidence in the objectives of the research and in obtaining background detail that helped inform later interviews.

Previous research provided general background to this current study and furthers a collaborative research relationship with Clarendon Vale Neighbourhood Centre (CVNC). In this current research project the focus (object) of enquiry were the experiences and perceptions of local residents. In particular, the field researcher enquired about their experience of living locally, the sorts of issues and concerns residents might encounter, aspirations for their local community and how they might themselves participate in such change. To achieve this, in collaboration with Simon Paul, Co-ordinator of CVNC, the Field Researcher developed a guiding set of questions that could be adapted and used as a general guide in undertaking recorded of interviews with local residents. These interviews were conducted in as informal a manner as possible, seeking to engage participants in a narrative that illustrated some of their personal experiences and perceptions of Clarendon Vale as a local resident.

The guiding questions (Appendix C) were simply that, potential avenues of enquiry to be explored with participants. Each interview participant was asked in general terms to describe their personal situation, housing, experience living locally, what involvement they had in the local community, any concerns they had and what they might like to change. This generic introduction then continued with participants being asked to elaborate on some issues, reflect upon others, drawing upon reflective listening techniques emphasising open questioning styles, subsequently adopting a broadly solution-focused approach whereby participants were typically asked what they thought

might change a situation of concern, how they themselves might participate in change or what strategies might have been effectively deployed in the past. This approach draws upon experience in counselling, with a pro-social, strength-based, client-centred approach underpinning the engagement style. As such it contrasts to the more rigid and structured approaches often adopted in evaluation research.

The methodological approach adopted in this research is essentially qualitative in nature. While reviewing predominantly critical perspectives that identify contemporary social and economic conditions as being associated with disadvantage and having particular consequences related to crime and safety, the subsequent analysis and discussion adopt an essentially realist approach, identifying the practical consequences of local communities being involved in crime prevention, safety and community development. Importantly, the conclusions reached do not simply rely upon an appeal to philosophical argument favouring social justice and social inclusion but are derived from the implicit logic of contemporary theory, policy and practice, ideas like 'grassroots', 'bottom up approaches', 'responsibilisation', 'community participation' and 'social equity' that have increasingly found favour within governments at various levels in countries like Australia.

Chapter 2 – Crime prevention in Australia

To understand crime prevention and community safety one might examine the notions of crime and safety, even the idea of community itself. Reiman (2007), in forwarding a Pyrrhic Defeat theory of crime, argues that what society considers a crime is distorted such that the poorest, most disadvantaged and marginalised are not only presented as the chief threat to social order but as being responsible for the majority of crime. Such groups not only bear the greatest burden of punishment says Reiman. They also provide a convenient focus that diverts attention away from the far greater and real harms to society. Rather than do anything about the broader conditions associated with crimes of the poorest and most disadvantaged within society, the Pyrrhic Defeat theory simply relies upon the powerful continuing to maintain the conditions that serve to perpetuate this distorted perception of crime and harm, of safety and wellbeing. By continuing to focus the efforts of policing, courts and correctional institutions upon the poorest and most marginalised in society, and indeed failing to solve the 'problem', these instrumental rituals of punishment divert attention away from the much greater harms of the wealthy, hence apparent defeat becomes victory. The greatest threats to society, including occupational and corporate harms, environmental harms, white collar crime and foremost perhaps, the fundamental economic and social disparities which contribute to the ongoing association of crime and harm within the poorest and most marginalised sections in society, are thus obscured by the distorted perceptions of crime and safety being generated within society.

Reiman's provocative, critical Marxist-inspired, but complex thesis has relevance today in the ever growing preoccupation with crime and punishment, expanding prison populations and rising rates of crime that governments inevitably respond to in various ways, few of which appear to inhibit the upward trends in crime in many developed nations. It is inevitable that government attention might

then be drawn to alternatives like crime prevention on purely economically rationalist terms. White (2001) contends that:

In the contemporary period of neo-liberal reform and restructuring, there has been a dichotomous process of politicisation and de-politicisation of crime issues in the public realm. The politicisation of crime is manifest in law and order campaigns, designed for maximum cross-class electoral appeal where the central concern is to get tough on crime (meaning 'working class' crime). A modicum of social peace (read, social control) is necessary to the maintenance of political legitimacy in times of intense change and institutional transformation, and to ensure the 'normal' operation of the market. The de-politicisation of crime relates to how crimes of the powerful are ignored or downplayed, social structural and systematic reasons for inequality are rarely explicitly discussed or addressed and 'solutions' are conceptualised in technical rather than social terms (e.g. more police, more programmes, better targeting of resources).

Accompanying these transformations in politics, society and economy are the arguments of critical criminologists "that evaluation research serves the needs of the powerful and has a managerial bias" (Travers, 2005: 13). Detailed critiques of class in Australia by those like Murray (2006) argue that the powerful today are increasingly represented by a wealthy managerial class, one that regularly crosses between the halls of government and the private sector. In doing so this reinforces the interdependent relationships between capital and state, generating a convergence of ideology which influences public policy and practice.

This analysis of crime prevention within the context of local communities recognises that contemporary society and the means by which key institutions operate have important practical consequences for local communities and that resources, knowledge, power and influence are identifiably and unevenly distributed within Australian society, and globally. Critical perspectives such as these often draw attention to the role of key institutions like government, justice systems and media within culture, while also extending the notion of harm beyond the narrow and proscriptive definitions of crime, in ways that allow for different conceptions of issues like

unemployment, disadvantage and poverty. In this sense, critical perspectives provide opportunities to broaden the narrow and more punitive law and order discourses associated with political debate and public policy in recent years, revealing potential alternatives to a dominant paradigm that is, in its failure to resolve many contemporary issues surrounding crime and safety, if not flawed, at least increasingly economically unsustainable and biased against the poorest and most disadvantaged members of society.

Reflecting upon crime prevention in Australia, Sutton, Cherney and White (2008: 3) observe that the idea itself has a long history. While being “pervasive at the grassroots, it is oddly neglected in the mass media and political discourses”, where “overwhelmingly, emphasis is upon the policing, sentencing and other 'law and order' responses”. While crime prevention has been 'rediscovered' in various forms and with varying success they contend that police and other justice responses attract the majority of attention and financial resources. Sutton, Cherney and White (2008: 4) argue that crime prevention is 'do-able', effective and more cost effective than criminal justice mechanisms, and when applied properly leads to reduced offending, while making “cities, towns, suburbs, streets and homes more liveable”. To this end they argue that “governments, business, community groups and other key stakeholders should learn from and add to the success stories”, not only to build an evidence base but to apprehend the political dimensions associated with developing and implementing crime prevention practices. Forwarding a case for a methodologically and theoretically sound, evidence-based accumulation of knowledge and expertise in crime prevention, Sutton, Cherney and White (2008: 4) identify a particular influence, media, in influencing public policy and practice in response to crime and safety concerns.

When practising crime prevention, Sutton, Cherney and White (2008: 4) insist that “It must also succeed at the symbolic (or, as Frieberg (2001 [in citation]) terms it, 'effective') level”. This

symbolic dimension to crime, deeply embedded historically, culturally and socially, finds expression within institutions like politics, media and popular culture. By sending powerful messages about crime these forms of discourse reflect Durkheim's (1912 cited Sutton, Cherney and White 2004: 4) conception that the rituals of punishment reinforce society's "collective consciousness: the shared values and rules that help bind its members together". Sutton, Cherney and White (2008: 4) contend that "crime prevention policy makers and practitioners in Australia have tended to gloss over the symbolic dimensions, treating punishment as purely instrumental".

Weatherburn (2004: 1-3), in observing disparities between public perceptions of crime and the recorded rates of crime like burglary, robbery and assault in Australia, argues that "public knowledge of crime is acquired to a large degree through the media", news items and political rhetoric that regularly incorporate crime control agendas, citing evidence that public perceptions and concerns about particular forms of crime can indeed be influenced by recent media coverage. Not only are public perceptions influenced, but indeed, public policy and legislation, with the potential for evidence and sound practice to be subverted by popular appeals and political expediency.

The experience of former Premier of Western Australia, Carmen Lawrence, and the enactment of the 'three strikes' legislation in response to intense media and public pressure, a decision she publicly regretted making in hindsight (see Lawrence 2005; Hinds 2005) is illustrative. This event highlights the capacity of contemporary society and media to influence public policy and criminal law, with various unintended, counter-productive and undesirable consequences. The role of various media in shaping public perceptions and social policy warrants attention, particularly where evidence-based policy and practice might be compromised by political or electoral appeal. Mindful of the various ways crime and punishment remain symbolic and instrumental within contemporary

society when notions of 'community' and 'communalism' are also introduced take us some way however to another important issue, the growing emphasis upon crime prevention and safety policy involving notions of 'community'.

Community crime prevention

Carson (2004) critiques notions of community and communalism as they relate to crime prevention, noting the political popularity since the 1990s of terms like 'civil society', 'third sector' and 'social capital', as articulated by those like Tony Blair in Britain and John Howard in Australia. Carson observes that this popular ideology, contentious in its modern conception and usage, has nonetheless been translated into national policy. In Britain, Hughes (2002a: 9 cited Carson 2004: 3) observes that "there are few areas in criminal justice that have seen such a growth industry as that which has occurred of late ... around community safety and local crime and disorder reduction partnerships". In Australia, Carson (2004: 4) associates this trend with policy and strategy documents including *A Safe and Just Society*, and *Safer Streets and Home* by the Victorian Labor Party and Queensland's strategic framework 'Building Safe Communities', commenting that various urban renewal programs, while not explicitly focused upon crime prevention, nonetheless incorporate the idea as a key aim.

Despite the popularity of community-based crime prevention, Carson highlights the lack of evidence supporting such policy and program initiatives, citing Crawford (1998 cited Carson 2004: 4) in finding minimal evidence for "sustainable success" and Homel (2003 cited Carson 2004: 4-5) who comments on "its poor evaluation record" locally and internationally. Sherman et al (2002: 408 cited Carson 2004: 5) are quoted as saying "no programs were found with evidence of proven success" with respect to 'communities', while for the notion of social capital, "to date there has been little empirical investigation of the actual relationship between social capital and those factors

argued to facilitate or flow from it” (Stone and Hughes, 2002: 5 cited Carson 2004: 5). Does this then suggest an underlying problem with the idea of community being involved with crime and safety issues or are there structural and ideological problems associated with the implementation of policy incorporation community as a concept?

Carson (2004: 9) makes an important observation about how the term communalism is applied and to whom in contemporary policy, observing that “we rarely talk of “community capacity building” for Toorak!”, rather, that it tends to be deployed in relation to the poor in an age when the very idea of community, debate over definition aside, seems an increasingly nostalgic and fluid notion within the developed world and capitalist economies (see Crawford 2001: 71; Sampson 2002, 219 cited in Carson 2004: 10). Carson also notes other implications of 'communalism', that 'communities' can include gangs, criminal networks and other, not always desirable, deviant networks. Furthermore, ideological messages politicians convey about the 'other', migrants, refugees, and ethnic groups highlight the divisive and exclusionary potential that notions of 'community' might convey. Besides these apparent biases, Carson (2004: 15) suggests that implicit within the governmental trend towards 'responsibilisation', “it is not a huge leap to *blaming* the community for its own woes, whether deriving from inadequate social capital or any of the other contemporary currencies of communalism (Herbert-Cheshire, 2000 cited Carson: 15)”, saying that:

Echoing the earlier suggestion that communalism may be something to be enjoined for the poor, social capital theory, at least as commonly practiced, runs the risk of being implicated in the less acceptable dimensions of the broader political economy of social control. When low crime rates are so indiscriminately cited as one of the benefits of strong social capital, there is witting or unwitting collusion in a process which keeps the prime focus of formal control and crime prevention firmly on the activities of the most marginal, less privileged and more vulnerable segments of our society (Carson 2004: 17).

Carson is not alone in identifying some of the pitfalls and exclusionary potential associated with

community crime prevention. Hil (2000: 31), critiquing Queensland's Crime Prevention Strategy, sees it as echoing Blair's 'tough on crime' mantra, saying:

Indeed, the policy statement is a prime example not only of the way governments celebrate the imposition of harsher penalties but also how they legitimate greater intervention into the lives of thousands of individuals and families.

There are particular consequences associated with the application of state power and control. Hil (2000: 31) identifies a tension “between 'exclusionary' punitive and retributive philosophies on the one hand and more 'inclusive' strategies like restorative justice on the other”, with the punitive having particular electoral appeal, accompanied by justice models emphasising notions of personal responsibility and accountability. Hil attributes these tensions to complex developments including Marxist-inspired 'new criminology', left and right 'realisms' and a politically conservative, morally orientated stance on crime, along with public demands for action in response to perceived threats like violent offending (see also Hogg and Brown 1988 cited Hil 2000: 31).

Mowbray (2005) offers a critical reflection on the resurgence of communitarian discourses as government policy. Recalling an article co-authored by Bryson, 'Community: the spray on solution' and the influence therein of Plant's 1974 essay *Community and Ideology*, Mowbray states:

'Community' is commonly employed, we noted, not simply because of its value in denoting a certain population. It is often used because of its aptitude for creating a positive regard for the organizations, policies or programmes to which it is applied – and their underlying motives (Mowbray 2005: 257).

Importantly, Mowbray argues, this “...ascription of only positive qualities to community ... facilitated a move to depoliticize social problems”, saying:

If traditional communities did not suffer certain problems, and modern society does, then the transition from rural village or village, to city life can unobtrusively be given causal status. Problems can be attributed to modern urban or industrial systems rather than to a class society and the capitalist political

order. This type of formulation allows solutions couched in technical, rather than explicitly political terms, oriented towards reviving or regenerating the primary social relations of the traditional community.

Another point we made was that programmes represented as being bottom-up and directed at community self-determination were in fact funded and managed within centrally determined regulations. State control, we suggested, was masked by a discourse about local autonomy and other communitarian virtues. We also suggested that this discourse veiled the state's interest in cost cutting (Bryson and Mowbray 1981: 262 cited Mowbray 2005: 257).

In contrast to some of the more optimistic promotion of policy imbued with the language of 'community', Mowbray's specific critique of the Victoria's Community Capacity Building Initiative (CCBI) program, described in a CCBI brochure as being "a three-year pilot, \$3 million, project to strengthen 'the ability of small rural communities to take charge of their future'", was that:

Rather than taking community as an alternative 'foundation for policy making and implementation' (Adams and Hess, 2001, p. 14) it may just as much be a cynical and frugal means for politicians and others to obfuscate or otherwise sustain their continuing commitment to economic fundamentalism (Mowbray 2005: 264).

Theory, politics and the changing paradigm of crime prevention

Hughes and Edwards (2008, 14) identify debates surrounding "what works, what doesn't work and what's promising" in crime prevention (Sherman et al, 1997; Petrosino et al 2000 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 14) as being "preoccupied with the problems of generalization" or alternatively, tend to "emphasize the 'indigenous' qualities of crime and control" (De Haan 1992; Willis et al 1999 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 14). They reject Garland's (2001 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008) argument that when conducting either local case or broad structural analyses, such tensions are inevitable, particularly so for those concerned with local complexity, leading to an inescapable dilemma for individual authors, inherently limiting the relevance of local case studies to "broader

criminological thought and practice”. They reject Garland's argument that:

...the best that can be hoped for is that the 'scholarly community as a whole' encompasses a division of labour between researchers in which 'Sweeping accounts of the big picture can be adjusted and revised by more focused case studies' and 'An accretion of small-scale analyses eventually prompts the desire for more general theoretical accounts (Hughes and Edwards 2008: 14).

Hughes and Edwards argue this “trade-off between the generalization and the specific is a false one”, attributing this trend to the dominance of the “natural scientific model of causation” in social science. They suggest that the reflexive, open nature of social relationships can best be explained by adopting a “critical realist method of articulation.” In doing so they consider mechanisms identified by Cohen and Felson (1979 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 14), involving a supply of offenders, suitable targets, conducive environments of guardianship and social control in conjunction with the wider context, issues like changes in employment opportunities, housing markets, policy decisions, funding of education and youth services, production of new products or technologies that attract theft, or the shifting of tolerance for particular crimes, acts or behaviours.

For Hughes and Edwards (2008: 15) context is “central to any evaluative understanding of crime prevention...”, whereby such “conditions are not simply the backdrop to, but are *constitutive* of, interactions between crime and control”, whereby “events arise from the workings of mechanisms which derive from the structures of objects, and they take place within geo-historical contexts” (Sayer 2000: 15 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 15). They argue that these 'geohistorical' explanations, by recognising both micro and macro influences, can contribute to the understanding of 'uneven development', particularly within nations themselves (Massey, 1984 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 15) at both a general level and within localised idiographic studies.

Drawing upon Britain's experience of advanced capitalism, individualism and authoritarian

conservatism and neo-liberal political ideology, Hughes and Edwards (2008: 17) associate these influences and a perceived crisis in the “welfare-penal complex” as generating a crisis of confidence in being able to identify 'what works', this in turn producing two influential preventative rationales, *primary situational crime prevention* and *social crime prevention*. These two approaches to crime, in contemporary form, are said to “...shift away from the offender as the object of knowledge towards the offence...and the role of the victim...” and “appeals to informal control and wider responsibility” (Crawford 1998: 35 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 18). Garland (2001: 17 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 18) distinguishes approaches such as “prevention, harm-reduction, loss reduction, fear reduction” from the traditional goals of “prosecution, punishment and 'criminal justice'” by saying optimistically:

Today's most visible crime control strategies may work by expulsion and exclusion, but they are accompanied by patient, ongoing, low-key efforts to build up the internal controls of neighbourhoods and to encourage communities to police themselves (but see also Hughes 2004d cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 18).

International context

In examining the legislative and structural challenges associated with the application of crime prevention theory in the UK by way of the *Crime and Disorder Act 1998*, Hughes and Edwards adopt Hope's (2004 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 20) position in distinguishing between crime reduction and community safety:

...while the goal of crime and disorder reduction is associated with concerns about the performance and delivery of services that would attain the aim of reducing the incidence of crime (including anti-social behaviour that has 'crime-like' consequences), in contrast, the goal of community safety reflects an aspiration to construct new public good of safety rather than a narrow obsession with targeted crime reduction.

Hughes and Edwards consider the dominant Home Office discourses that emphasise crime and

disorder reduction to have subordinated community safety agendas, dealing “only with the sources of danger occasioned by human agents acting criminally or in disorderly ways” They suggest it:

...distorts the recognition and prioritisation of all the threats to safety which a community may encounter, and neglects the distributive justice which is appropriately achieved by the equitable sharing of unavoidable risks...Rather than start with crime per se we believe it would be more useful to start with the broader issue of hazard and hazard management, of which crime and disorder are then sub-sets (Byrne and Pease 2003: 287-8 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 20).

Internationally, public safety and security is thought to be increasingly influenced by US interpretations, more 'Americanized' than globalised. Hughes and Edwards argue that Europe, where particular state-centred forms of crime prevention are being adopted, contrast with 'Anglo-American' nations in which the state has commodified and privatised aspects of its crime and justice apparatus. The social and cultural differences are themselves reflected in the language of crime and safety. “The difficulty even literally 'translating' these concepts...make the problem of 'transport', 'import' and 'export' obvious” (Karstedt 2004 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 19-20).

Hughes and Edwards emphasise that context is fundamental to any understanding of crime, considering this to be as much about cultural meaning as 'instrumental effectivity' (Nelken 2002: 175 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 25) and having implications for the ways ideas about crime and public flow within, between and across nations. In doing so they highlight the sometimes significant differences found within nations, agreeing that “...nation states are often 'default units of analysis in debates on policy transfer in crime control because criminal justice is used as the organizing framework for understanding policy change (Stenson and Edwards 2004: 229 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 25)”.

Place

This appeal for comparative criminology to be 'place-sensitive' in the study and understanding of crime and its local contexts, though often muddled by political and structural expectation, advocates for "a greater, though not exclusive, focus on the subnational" (Hughes and Edwards 2008: 28). In doing so Hughes and Edwards find support in Nelken's (1994 cited Hughes and Edwards 2008: 30) assertion that there cannot be 'a culture-free theory of crime', or indeed, crime prevention. In recognising the inherently political nature of crime they commend Sutton's chapter (Hughes and Edwards 2008: 30) advice that for crime prevention to be "...a viable political alternative community safety must 'work' at the symbolic and normative levels (for example, associated with the advocacy of social inclusion, social justice and non-punitive and restorative principles) as well as at the technical and cost-effective levels." It is with these ideas in mind that the research detailed here was conducted.

Chapter 3 - Classifying crime prevention theory

At the core of this research are the means by which a measure of crime prevention and greater community safety might be attained. Tilley (2005: 4), in the *Handbook of Crime Prevention*, introduces some of the complexities associated with the subject of crime prevention and the differing theoretical frameworks that attempt to define and classify the field. There is Brantingham and Faust's model of 'primary', 'secondary' and 'tertiary' prevention, correlating to prevention of crime in the first instance, preventing criminality within groups considered at risk of offending and lastly, preventing offenders from continuing to commit crime. Alternatively, there is Tonry and Farrington's classification of 'situational', 'community' and 'developmental' prevention strategies or Tilley et al (cited Tilley 2005: 4) who categorise crime prevention as involving 'policing and criminal justice mechanisms', 'social intervention mechanisms', 'individual treatment mechanisms' or 'situational mechanisms'. Ekblom's more elaborate classification of eleven crime prevention strategies includes "criminal disposition, lack of resources to avoid crime, readiness to offend, resources for committing crime, decision to offend, offender presence in the situation for offending, the crime target, the crime target enclosure, the wider environment, crime preventers and crime promoters". Various subtypes only further challenges practitioners, criminologists and others attempting to untangle these theoretical discourses and respond to crime or develop policies and practices directed towards crime and public safety.

As noted earlier, evaluation research has become something of the dominant mode of enquiry into the field of crime prevention and community safety within Australia. Morgan, Boxall, Lindeman and Anderson (2012: 4-7) identify these as being experimental, systematic and evidenced-based (essentially positivist), or realist in their orientation. Their approach to evaluating effective crime prevention for local government is to adopt Eck's (2006b: 356-357 cited Morgan, Boxall, Lindeman

and Anderson 2012:6) advice “to *create a mixed portfolio of intrusive, less-intrusive, and non-intrusive evaluations*, so we can draw more valid conclusions about generalisability”.

Although this research is more exploratory than evaluative, favouring a critical realist approach informing community-based practice, it does seek to review some of the practical mechanisms by which changes to crime and safety might be effected and which have theoretical and evidential support, some of which are positivist in nature. Four key themes are therefore considered in greater detail, being relevant to the range of issues and aspirations identified by interview participants: *crime prevention through environmental design* (CPTED), *guardianship*, *situational crime prevention* and *community-based crime prevention*.

Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED)

As Ekblom (1995: 115) observes, Bronze Age hill forts in Britain are reminders that people have long shaped their physical environments to prevent crime or obtain safety. Ekblom argues strongly in favour of design considerations in addressing crime and cautions against the potential to likewise promote or enable crime by poor design, acknowledging that crime prevention through design “...resembles a craft more than a science, and one that has not yet attained the status of a discipline” (Ekblom 1995: 116). Historically, Ekblom describes the field of CPTED as tending towards “narrow and isolationist approaches, promoting a search for more satisfactory definitions and processes, with an ecological approach in mind, being informed by links to seemingly unrelated fields like ecology (Ekblom 1995: 116-117).

Ekblom notes Jane Jacobs' critique of architectural trends that were reducing residents' natural surveillance opportunities, a quality that also influenced Oscar Newman's work on 'defensible space' and notions of territoriality. While such ideas were incorporated into various government public housing developments, their implementation was considered imperfect at best, effectively criminogenic at worst in some cases, leading to something of a divide, neighbourhood crime being seen either as a social process or somehow a product of architectural determinism (Ekblom 1995: 117). Ekblom (995: 118) suggests “the inherent simplicity and plausibility of these architectural approaches to crime have previously enabled them to achieve a degree of influence that may be greater than they merit” and that greater attention is now being given to those areas that seem, by design, to promote or enable certain forms of crime in the UK.

Ekblom's (1995: 118-119) theoretical assumptions underpinning crime prevention, “intervention in mechanisms that cause criminal events”, is crafted to avoid “domain problems” but draws attention

to “proximal or immediate, circumstances of the criminal event”. The disposition of potential offender and the situation in which a crime occurs extends routine activity theory, conceiving criminal events to be a “conjunction of opportunity”, comprising a target of crime, an absence of willing and able modulators and a physical and social environment that is conducive to crime. Prevention is classified according to which of these qualities are being addressed. The most significant division is between offender-orientation and situational action. Ekblom further divides orientated action into criminality prevention and changing the current life circumstances of potential offenders.

Situational prevention strategies (discussed subsequently) are often directed towards changing targets, modulators and environments. Environmental design is considered to play a prominent role but can also be used to promote social interaction between residents and provide for the social needs of children, something that seems particularly relevant for a demographic like Clarendon Vale yhat also has significant undeveloped open spaces. Although an ecological approach is their preferred approach, Ekblom (1995: 120) identifies several trends in the way situational crime prevention has been applied, with an early emphasis upon things like locks and bolts, then in the 1980s, the growing influence of “problem-oriented policing in which the choice of solution became subordinated to the identification of the precise crime problem to be tackled”. Ekblom (1995: 119) typifies situational crime prevention as having becoming a “field of design of its own”, including target hardening common (eg. locks, taxi screens), removing rewards (e.g. cash free phones), disguising valuable automotive accessories or providing disincentives (e.g. unique marking of valuable items to allow identification, electronic tagging of items in stores). Ranging from automotive security to retail transactions, some of these measures have become commonplace.

Ekblom identifies the environment, the “physical, social, and perceived context...” (1995: 120) in

which crime factors converge as having potential for design solutions. These include physical items like bollards, road changes to restrict vehicle activity, improved sight lines including vegetation modifications and entry phones for residents. Defensive space principles may also be employed to define private space or prevent conflict by defining vague boundaries or reducing noise. Vehicle design is considered to have particular potential in reducing vehicle theft or break-ins, acknowledging the costs and potential deactivation by owners. Ekblom observes that governments, insurers and other parties need to consider the wider consequences of vehicle crime and collaborate on effective solutions for such widespread issues.

The active offender

Ekblom (1995: 123) also emphasises the capacity of offenders to “fight back” in response to crime prevention design, raising the prospect of displacement and the measurement of net gains any particular strategies produce. Citing the ingenuity of Elizabethan fraudsters and their 14 crooked dice, Ekblom suggests that ingenuity is an inevitable human trait. Thieves are progressively able to overcome more complex vehicle security, while the increasing complexity of electronic crime, particularly transnationally, serves as a reminder that security is fluid, particularly where technology is deployed. Computer hacking is yet another frontier for those interested in breaching sophisticated security, to various ends, some simply recreational, ultimately leading to increased countermeasures in turn. Ekblom argues for a comprehensive assessment and review of security measures in light of changing risks and crime tactics.

An ecological perspective

Ekblom is particularly concerned to see design as being integral to the development of products like motor vehicles or valuable consumer goods, observing that regulation of products for fire safety (or child safety) occurs, but not for crime. Either through ignorance, a lack of motivation or simply

competitive pressures, the potential to avert crime by design often gets overlooked, urban planning included.

Eckblom perceives design and crime as a ceaseless arms race in some respects, requiring continuous refinement, one where an equilibrium of sorts might be found by measuring the cost-benefit of particular strategies taking into account general freedoms and privacy. Eckblom adopts a biological model in describing this fluid 'arms race' between offenders and targets, many of which have evolved from technical developments (eg internet, mobiles, card skimming) and an increasingly complex society. The suggestion to “think like a thief” (Eckblom 1995: 128) may inspire designers, planners and others to anticipate some of the more obvious pitfalls associated with various technologies and systems society adopts: Eckblom comments that designing against crime is more craft than science, but remarks:

...some of the most productive developments in the last two centuries have come about through the fusion of technological crafts and academic science, with the practical craftspeople often taking the lead. Provided that dialogue between the two continues to take place, provided that design against crime pursues sensibly limited goals by means that include people and social processes rather than exclude them, and provided that designers adopt a disciplined approach to creation, implementation, and evaluation, the future looks promising (Eckblom 1995: 129).

Eckblom concedes that some crimes like domestic violence are unlikely to respond to simple design strategies, although potential exists at a neighbourhood level to promote peaceful co-existence or even encourage positive social interaction. Because designing against crime requires ongoing effort and expense, “natural social controls against crime should be facilitated by design, not supplanted by artificial means”, rather, design and management should mutually reinforce each other (Eckblom 1995: 129).

Situational crime prevention

Geason and Wilson (1988: 1) observe that governments are unwilling to continually expand police numbers, goal capacity and enact harsher laws or sentencing regimes in times of economic stress and that the prevention of crime has a particular economic attraction to the state, despite the political appeal of 'law and order' policy. They argue that traditional approaches to crime prevention "that try to identify the psychological and social causes of crime" and target individual offenders or develop programs for those considered at risk are not working and that crime rates are rising despite such interventions.

Paralleling many aspects of CPTED, Geason and Wilson (Geason and Wilson 1988: 5) outline an alternative approach, situational crime prevention, which assumes two things; that offenders make rational choices about crime, weighing up the costs and risks, and that opportunities to engage in crime present themselves to potential offenders. In short, situational crime prevention seeks to remove opportunities to commit crime and make the costs of committing crime greater than any potential rewards, through measures such as target hardening (eg. secure locks, engine immobilisers and airport security screening), defensible space architecture encouraging natural surveillance and informal guardianship, community crime prevention initiatives that mobilise members of the community or techniques "such as channelling potential offenders away from potential victims" (Clarke, 1988 cited Geason and Wilson 1988: 2).

Clarke (2004: 39) describes situational crime prevention as being "the art and science of reducing opportunities for crime – 'science' because a large body of theory and research now buttress situational crime prevention, and 'art' because, despite this research, practitioners still have to rely on their own judgement and experience in implementing projects". Clarke believes situational crime prevention is underpinned by a strong body of evidence supporting the link between crime and

situational factors, employing rigorous research methodology and design, citing 25 key situational prevention techniques (see Appendix D) and a body of case studies that address issues like displacement, allowing a variety of potential intervention strategies to be envisaged.

Clarke observes however that in practice “situational prevention is now almost a synonym for 'opportunity reduction' (Clarke 2004: 39) and that despite growing international interest in such techniques, they can be poorly applied and thus generate criticism. As does Laycock (2004), Clarke identifies routine activity, crime pattern and rational choice as key theories informing situational crime prevention, these being sometime described as *opportunity* theories, or 'criminologies of everyday life' (Garland 2000 cited Clarke 2004: 41).

Evidence for situational crime prevention

Underlying this shift away from developmental criminology and the potential offender towards environments as a key factor in the likelihood of crime occurring is the question *does opportunity cause crime?* Felson and Clarke (1998 cited Clarke 2004: 41) believe evidence exists showing that a measurable displacement of crime is not an inevitable result of situational prevention. Responding in detail to common criticisms and misconceptions surrounding situational crime prevention (Appendix E) Clarke identifies the perfunctory treatment it typically gets in texts (with the exception of von Hirsch et al 2000 cited Clarke 2004: 63), arguing this has been detrimental to the development of the field, lacking sufficient critique that would refine and extend its theoretical foundations and in turn, contribute to criminology itself.

Guardianship

Hollis-Peel, Reynald, van Bavel, Elffers and Welsh (2001) “define guardianship as the physical or symbolic presence of an individual (or group of individuals) that acts (either intentionally or

unintentionally) to deter a potential criminal event”. They review the evidence supporting guardianship, drawing from Cohen and Felson's routine activity theory whereby crime may arise when three factors converge; a motivated offender, a suitable target and capable guardians who might directly or indirectly disrupt crime potentially resulting from this interaction. They believe evaluations of guardianship-related interventions provide support for this theory but that “high-quality field tests of guardianship are wholly lacking” (Hollis-Peel, Reynald, van Bavel, Elffers and Welsh 2001: 1).

Hollis-Peel, Reynald, van Bavel, Elffers and Welsh refine the discussion of 'capable guardianship', classifying Felson's notion of guardianship in terms of availability and monitoring. They also identify three types of controllers; “place managers (who control space and place), handlers (who control the behaviour of potential offenders), and target-guardians (who control potentially suitable targets)” (Hollis-Peel, Reynald, van Bavel, Elffers and Welsh 2001: 3-4). Finally, they identify the concept of 'super-controllers' (see Sampson et al cited Hollis-Peel, Reynald, van Bavel, Elffers and Welsh 2001: 14), groups or organisations that promote controllers being active in their roles. Hollis-Peel et al posit that such elaborations fail to account for the role of “unintentional and occasional guardians who are, arguably, the most important guardians in preventing crimes” (Hollis-Peel, Reynald, van Bavel, Elffers and Welsh 2001: 14).

We argue for a movement toward a formal definition that includes formal guardians, handlers, managers, and target-guardians, where a guardian is any and every person on the scene of a potential crime who might notice and intervene (whether they intend to or not). It is through mere presence that this guardian deters criminal activity (Hollis-Peel, Reynald, van Bavel, Elffers and Welsh 2001: 14).

Breaking down the idea of guardianship further, Laycock deploys Eck's (2003 cited Laycock 2004: 676-678) problem analysis triangle (PAT) as an analytical device, drawing attention to the *offender*, *place* and *target* or victim. In this framework, changes to guardianship effectiveness may vary over

time, as young children grow defiant or assert their increasing independence while crediting parents as being the most effective example of a 'personal' guardian. To this 'capable' guardian is introduced, considered in Skinnerian psychological terms to be a reinforcer. For Laycock, guardianship is considered a modifier of the offender-place-target event. Guardianship is considered an important factor in crime prevention and community safety, although one which Hollis-Peel, Reynald, van Bavel, Elffers and Welsh observe tends to be applied to residential areas, ignoring public spaces:

it may be argued that the most important contribution that guardianship experiments ... can make to criminological knowledge is clarifying the causal mechanisms underlying the relationship between guardianship and crime.

...

Examining this causal link is a critical next step to advancing knowledge in this area (Laycock 2004: 15-16).

While there are still theoretical and evidential challenges to resolve in the field of guardianship, the positive implications of guardianship may include enhanced informal social controls, greater use of public space and safer communities, along with increased recreational opportunities positive social interactions for residents, particularly when guardianship is incorporated into a broader strategy involving CPTED and situational prevention concepts, many of which are complementary and mutually compatible. The various insights afforded by fields like guardianship, CPTED and situational prevention offer can help identify intervention strategies, but the context in which these evolve and are enacted remains an important consideration. The field of community-based crime prevention itself provides particular opportunities develop and implement crime and safety strategies.

Community-based crime prevention

“Community crime prevention refers to actions intended to change the social conditions that are believed to sustain crime in residential communities” (Hope 1995: 21).

Why community-based crime prevention? This research was not intended to merely be place sensitive, drawing upon local narratives and experience. It sought to identify ways local communities could themselves respond to the contemporary political, social and economic landscape and be key authors of policy and practice at a local level. The following literature outlines some of the key issues and considerations in attempting to generate policy and practice at the grass-roots, emphasising bottom-up mechanisms. The backdrop to this is a political and policy environment which has variously sought to adopt and adapt international models of crime prevention and community safety, respond to the increasingly influential ideology of economic rationalism and in turn generate a range of interventions and strategies consistent with this regime. These ideologies include notions of 'responsibilisation' and 'community ownership' of problems, a withdrawal of the state and growing reliance upon markets, performance driven mechanisms and policy which regulate an expanding non-government sector. This devolution of central state control is evident in areas as diverse as public housing, support services and immigration detention centres, extending to infrastructure like power, water and telecommunications. This presents new challenges in implementing policy and programs involving a 'whole of government' response relying upon diverse partnerships and co-operation . With this in mind, the following outlines some of the key issues, considerations and challenges for community-based organisations to influence and participate in the work of crime prevention and community safety.

The politics of Australian crime prevention

Homel (2005: 356-357) describes Australia's experience with crime prevention as being haphazard,

hampered by a lack of leadership nationally, only really identifiable as a policy in 1995 with the launch of Safer Australia. Influenced by the French Bonnemaison model such transnational translations were considered problematic in practice, local government lacking comparable powers. A lack of state level involvement and an inadequate capacity nationally to influence key areas like health, education and housing were considered key structural impediments to success. Consequently, Homel argues that community-based crime prevention has thus prevailed in countries like Australia, New Zealand and parts of Europe with a focus upon factors like housing, employment, education and health as contributing to crime rates. This is odd, Homel says, as such forms of crime prevention have shown little success (Sherman, Gottfredson, MacKenzie, Eck, Reuter, and Bushway 1998: 6; Hope 1995: 22 cited Homel 2005: 358). Citing examples including Safer Streets and Homes (Victoria), Strategic Framework for Community Crime Prevention (QLD) and the Community Safety and Crime Prevention Strategy (WA) and a growing interest in urban renewal strategies as evidence that crime prevention is nonetheless here to stay, Homel concludes that 'whole of government' approaches require national cohesion. Overcoming barriers inherent in Australia's three-tiered government are thus considered vital to success, combined with a centralised and co-ordinated agency dedicated to implementing crime prevention policy and practice. Does this then help explain why community-based crime prevention has previously struggled to demonstrate success?

Begg and Whelan (1998) assessed where Australia stood on crime prevention and community safety at the end of the 20th Century, drawing attention to the role of citizens themselves. They consider the “structural barriers to whole-of-government approaches to crime prevention”, the “evidence of community support for crime prevention despite 'law and order' responses by government” and the range of issues which need to be acknowledged in order to successfully implement crime prevention. They are particularly critical of the way communities have been invited to express

specific needs and then offered initiatives they did not identify as concerns. “The community is now increasingly being asked to participate in the crime prevention debate via the expression of needs and the onus is now clearly on government and the ‘experts’ to provide action” (Begg and Whelan 1998: 2).

Begg and Whelan (1998: 3) identify compartmentalisation of responsibilities within and across different levels of government as being a key impediment to effective whole-of-government partnerships in crime prevention. Likewise, a distinct lack of coordination of resources to address social issues of common concern, even “a suspicion of each level of government, each against the other – which tended to mitigate against cooperative venturing in the area of social justice”.

Begg and Whelan also identify a recent trend towards local government taking greater responsibility for a variety of issues like crime, health and education. They argue for the development of standardised management protocols, mutually agreed shared visions across government and improved distribution and standardisation of information that might inform debates on community safety and crime prevention (Begg and Whelan 1998: 4). Begg and Whelan take particular issue with the capacity for media to exaggerate crime and generate “hysterical reactions”, generating a disproportionate fear of crime types (Begg and Whelan 1998: 5). They argue that debates about crime generated by Australian media are typically uninformed and appear to target particular groups like young people, which “inadvertently or otherwise, influences public perceptions about crime and those interest groups” (ARCO, 1994, 1995 cited Begg and Whelan 1998: 5).

Conceiving a time when crime prevention and community safety is the “core business of government, business and the community, Begg and Whelan (1998: 6) assert that holistic strategies

must replace existing industry niche markets to facilitate the implementation of long-term strategies. They place equal importance upon the adoption of a consensual approach involving a diversity of citizens and viewpoints to enhance ownership of any responses, citing Untaru:

To provide the community with a voice should be a primary function of any body that seeks to facilitate change in any community. Where that voice is weak and tenuous, then provide support for the strengthening of that voice. Where that voice is stuttering and unsure, then provide the information that will enable that voice to become fluent and forceful. Where that voice is strident but lacking the power of information to be most effective, then provide the knowledge that will assist that voice to ask for what will work.

...

A more effective crime prevention sector might consider that its primary role is to further the expert knowledge available regarding crime prevention and to consistently and effectively pass that information on to the wider community, enabling the community to enter the debate on an equal grounding.

...

A well educated community (in terms of effective crime prevention) is likely to be the most potent method of ensuring that crime prevention goes beyond traditional punitive responses to crime and effects worthwhile positive change in the community (Untaru 2002: 87 cited Begg and Whelan 1998: 26).

Cherney (2004: 238) critiques Victoria's specific experience of partnerships in crime prevention and community safety, *Safer Cities and Shires*, launched in 1997 by a Liberal-National government and abandoned by Labor in 2000. *Safer Cities and Shires* was intended to embody "a 'whole of government' approach based on the premise that responses to crime and community safety must be holistic". Lead agencies were tasked with convening 'Senior Management Teams (SMTs) to analyse local issues and develop a community safety plan in response, with a tendency for SMTs to foist responsibility upon councils and their safety officers (Cherney 2004: 244). Cherney observes the varied ways different municipalities structured SMTs, typically attributed to local 'operational imperatives'. Varied levels of agency commitment were observed with individual representative

qualities playing an important role.

Cherney (2004: 244) argues that varied personalities, levels of commitment and operational autonomy of different agency participants tended to produce "...discrete non-controversial projects rather than striving to achieve organisational change in policies and practices of key agencies", keeping everyone 'on-side', "increasing communication between participating agencies becoming the essential goal". Cherney (2004: 242) attributes agency confusion over roles and responsibilities as a direct consequence of inadequate political commitment at a state level to "devolve decision-making powers, authority and resources to appropriate levels" and undermining the stated "whole of government" approach informing *Safer Cities and Shires*.

The *Safer Cities and Shires* policy was a product of Jeff Kennett's Victorian Liberal-National government, one associated with "a number of political and economic reforms informed by a mix of economic rationalism, neo-liberalism, new public management and 'reinventing government' philosophies" (Cherney 2004: 247). An associated trend towards senior departmental management contracts with performance payments was considered "hostile to 'partnerships for the public good'" (Cherney 2004: 247). Cherney argues that the development of effective partnerships which broaden accountability and responsibility for crime prevention and community safety "must be matched by a meaningful devolution of resources, authority and decision-making powers so that inter-agency partnerships can actually occur at the local level" (Cherney 2004: 248). Despite misgivings about program structure, execution and policy commitment, Cherney believes the problems identified provide useful lessons in policy.

Place management

Lee and Herborn (2003) consider the increasing emphasis upon community-based crime prevention

in Australia over recent years (O'Malley 1997 cited Lee and Herborn 2003: 26) as reflecting a “shift from state-centred forms of social control to forms of regulation developed and implemented at local levels by local governments”. Accompanying this have been strategies to 'harden targets', 'reduce rewards' and 'design out' crime or develop alternative activities and spaces for potential offenders. This ideological context has given rise to the notion of place management as a 'whole of government' approach to 'social and spatial problems. They see place management and being “almost a synonym for local government”, one that is being adopted by New South Wales government, having attracted some political and academic support.

Places are not just the spatial organisation of phenomena in a particular area, still less the physical landscape of buildings and natural forms. They also comprise meanings that embrace public perceptions, evaluations, rights and associations. Places are evaluated with respect to whether they facilitate people's place-based objectives. These place experiences may relate to spatial access, convenience, comfort, security, or to satisfying interruptions (Untaru 2002: 87 cited Lee and Herborn 2003: 26).

Ideological trends

Terms like 'social capital', 'community regeneration', community capacity building', 'social partnerships', 'social entrepreneurship' and 'place management' (Putman et al cited Lee and Herborn 2003: 27) have gained footholds in academic writing and government policy, Lee and Herborn associating their origins in part to 'The third way' policies of British New Labour, the work of sociologist Anthony Giddens and more particularly “to developments in urban and regional planning” (Lee and Herborn 2003: 27).

Lee and Herborn identify two approaches to crime prevention, an interventionist, positivistic welfare perspective, crime being prevented “through the reconstruction and correction of social conditions, communities and/or individuals” and situational crime prevention approaches “encompassing target hardening and actuarialism”, with assumptions of offenders as rational actors

(Lee and Herborn 2003: 28). Despite criticisms of the welfarist approach “for being wasteful, ineffective and as creating dependency” or “for being a coercive net-widening exercise” it is considered attractive to neo-liberal politics emphasising “accountability, rationalisation, and devolution of traditionally state responsibilities to local government, private citizens and private enterprise”. Rather than simply providing a vehicle for neo-liberal ideologies, place management is considered to offer “...another important site for pooling resources such that crime prevention becomes increasingly inter-agency and politically and socially broadened rather than narrowed”, although cautioning against “quick-fix solutions which inevitably turn out to be exclusionary and self defeating” (Lee and Herborn 2003: 36).

Chapter 4 - Why community development?

Lane and Henry (2004: 201) observe that “crime and crime prevention are currently ‘hot’ political and social issues”. They locate this within a reactive context whereby politicians and planners seek ‘solutions’ in response to public pressure, tending towards the ‘quick-fix’ by responding to problems when and wherever they might arise. Lane and Henry forward a more complex array of long term strategies that give particular attention to “...the political, social, economic and cultural factors associated with crime”. In doing so they explore community development as a potential strategy for crime prevention, one argued to be particularly relevant to “...‘community’ or ‘street’ crime and violence”. They identify some of the productive connections within theory and practice between community development and crime prevention approaches, emphasising those “...which link crime and violence with dis-empowerment, poverty, inequality, exclusion, the learning of violence within families and communities, and lack of opportunity for children and young people to develop their potential”.

As with many popularly used terms, ‘community development’ finds wide application. Lane and Henry consider this varied usage to have made the term somewhat meaningless in contemporary discourses. Their preferred definition of community development is one of a process which:

...stresses a collective approach to problem solving and decision-making about needs, priorities and programs. In particular, it seeks to enable marginal groups to migrate into ‘the acting community’ of decisions and decision-makers (Henderson et al 1980: 5 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 202).

This conception of community development is conceived as an “enabling, collective process” readily understood by contemporary Australian practitioners and writers such as Kenny (1999 Lane and Henry 2004: 202) and Ife (2002 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 202). It implies a commitment to “social justice..., participatory democracy, ‘common good’ and inclusion”, a form of

communitarianism which fosters community and diversity in its application. Lane and Henry emphasise that such strategies, while not unique to the community development field, are distinguished by a 'bottom up' rather than 'top down' approach. "Community development should not be seen as a service 'for'; it's a movement for change, 'with'" they say (Lane and Henry 2004: 202). How such aspirations are achieved depend upon strategies Lane and Henry identify as including "...citizen participation, networking, activism, lobbying and advocacy, community organisation, local service development, social planning, popular education and consciousness raising" (Rothman 1968; Freire 1972; Thomas 1983; Checkoway 1995; Ife 2002 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 202).

What might be the benefits of doing community development from the bottom up? Lane and Henry (Lane and Henry 2004: 202-203) identify dividends including greater participation by marginalised groups in decision-making, increased access to resources, changes to policy to reflect greater diversity, improved community services especially for youth and early childhood and stronger social networks, co-operation, trust and civic awareness, 'social capital', greater participation of previously marginalised groups, more leadership roles for women, personal change and development for individuals participating in the processes. They also identify a reduction of neighbourhood conflict, fear of crime and the perception of crime levels and a reduction of some types of 'street crime' (Lane and Henry 2004 : 203).

Lane and Henry (2004: 203) observe that community crime prevention is typically categorised in two ways, opportunity reduction/situational approaches and social/developmental approaches (see Grant and Grabosky 2000; and English, Straton and Cummings 2002 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 203). They observe that many criminologists think that focusing upon these two broad strategies is inadequate, arguing that effective prevention requires "attention to the broad political, economic,

social and cultural factors which nurture crime” (Lane and Henry 2004: 204). Lane and Henry identify insights derived from sociology, political theory and cultural studies which locate issues of crime and violence as being symptomatic of “deep social problems”. They identify questions of how decision making power is exercised, how material resources are distributed, the extent of trust within a society and the degree of social fragmentation and exclusion that exists:

Particular emphasis is placed on the adverse effects of dis-empowerment, poverty, inequality and social exclusion. Tackling these problems requires multi-strategy programmes which combine institutional, administrative and legal initiatives with interventions at the ‘grass-roots’ where social problems are played out in everyday lives (Lane and Henry 2004: 204).

Social problems as risk factors

Evidence of social issues as contributing to crime and safety is found in Wetherburn's (1992; 2001 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 204) identification of poverty as a risk factor in crime. Lane and Henry argue that poverty also affects processes like parenting, observations supported by Lind (1998 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 204). The consequences of inequality are illustrated by Hope's (1997, also Hogg and Brown 1998 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 204) observations of spatial inequality and the 'getto' culture of crime within enclaves of socio-economic disadvantage. They also identify support for gender inequality (Egger 1997; Snider 1998 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 204) and ethnic or cultural inequality (Lincoln and Wilson 1994 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 204) as risk factors in involvement with crime. Homel, Lincoln and Herd's (1999 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 204) study of crime and violence amongst Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities identifies dis-empowerment as a particular risk factor.

They argue that ‘protective’ interventions entail much more than social developmental approaches which re-inforce cultural, family and personal resilience, and must address the deep social and political factors linked to dis-empowerment. Measures are required which reduce dependency and lead to increased control by Aboriginal people over their own lives (1999: 29 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 204).

Communitarianism

Within communitarian crime prevention strategies 'community breakdown' is attributed to exclusion and considered a major contributing factor to "disadvantage, violence and crime", including the diminution of informal cultural controls (Lane and Henry 2004: 204), requiring strategies that enhance trust, participation and solidarity. Etzioni (1994; 1996 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 204) argues for communitarianism, imbued with notions of morality and obligation, 'civic virtues' and responsibility, although this position has been criticised for being morally conservative and authoritarian in nature, assuming "...the existence of a tight and homogeneous community". It is a variant of communitarianism that Lane and Henry argue for, recognising the oppressive, intolerant and conformist qualities homogeneity can impose. Their version is one:

...where communitarian ideas of inclusion, reciprocity and sharing, are linked with commitment to social justice and concern about the adverse effects of inequality and poverty (see, for example, Jordan and Arnold 1995). In these approaches, connections are identified between marginalisation, deprivation and anti-social behaviour - between exclusion, inequality and crime. Again, prevention requires re-distributive measures as well as the building of co-operative, inclusive, democratic societies (the 'truly civil societies' described by Cox 1995 [in citation]); by implication a combination, once more, of government and community initiatives, the latter including community development (Lane and Henry 2004: 205).

Community development in action

Lane and Henry (2004: 205) argue for a mix of crime prevention approaches and strategies (supported by Sutton 1994 and Weatherburn 2001 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 205). Community development finds local value in situational approaches, resident involvement in redesigning public housing in Sydney providing evidence of this (Richards 1990 cited Lane and Henry 2004: 205). The more obvious applications of community development reputedly involves crime prevention strategies concerned with social/structural and social/developmental approaches. In particular, they identify crime and violence prevention that links socio-economic and political inequality and disadvantage, 'uncivil' society low in social capital with poor opportunities to develop the skills,

knowledge and self-esteem necessary for active social participation. They "...emphasise four aspects of community development that contribute to that effectiveness: its ability to promote participation, to encompass diversity, to be flexible, and to coordinate multiple responses" (Lane and Henry 2004: 205).

In providing a detailed discussion of these characteristics of community development and crime prevention, Lane and Henry (2004: 205) cite the widespread theoretical support (Hope 1995; Palumbo et al 1997; Lab 1997, 78; Henry and Lane 1993: 24; Weatherburn 2001: 8; Fordham 1993: 301) and evidence for employing approaches that emphasise participation, diversity, flexibility and coordination (Lane and Vinson 1994; Lane 1988, Lane 1990a; Cazalet and Lane 1988; Henry 1990; Cazalet and Lane 2000; Lane and Henry 2001). Lane and Henry (2004: 207-209) also respond to some of the arguments made against community development as a crime prevention strategy. These include notions of social justice discourses and interventions as being 'out of fashion', that limited theorising and documentation exist to support such approaches, the difficulties in evaluating and quantifying any outcomes and 'invisibility', whereby the more politically 'hot' issues, media coverage and community demands for safety attract so much attention.

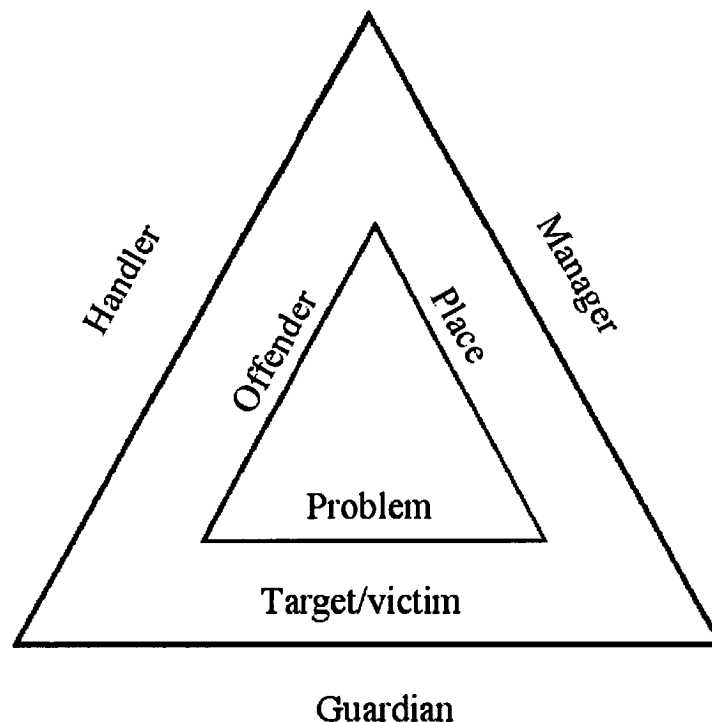
In closing, we emphasise that community development workers would not see themselves as crime prevention agents and there is no intention in this paper to 'criminalise' community development or use it to focus on particular groups of people as if they were potential criminals! The work and its purposes do reveal, however, that in the pursuit of a socially just society, community development - as an empowering, participatory, 'bottom-up' process of change - has considerable potential also, to contribute to the prevention of crime and violence (Lane and Henry 2004: 209).

Chapter 5 - Deciding what to do

Various crime prevention and community safety orientated strategies are being developed and applied today. Focusing upon environmental criminology, Laycock (2004: 674) considers issues of crime, disorder and community safety to be integral to the notion of crime prevention. They outline some of the underlying theoretical considerations and processes involved in the development, application and interpretation of crime prevention strategies. The development of strategic responses, reflective practices and analysis is considered essential for successful outcomes and the ongoing development of crime prevention as a discipline. Laycock adopts the scanning, analysis, response and assessment (SARA) framework in illustrating how to respond to particular issues, considering this an iterative, rather than linear, process, one which seeks to make the process dynamic and responsive rather than proscriptive and narrowly defined. Laycock identifies three key theoretical considerations underlying notions of crime, disorder and prevention:

- *Crime pattern theory*: examines the physical distribution of crime in relation to offender residence, daily movements and interactions, the public order and safety (eg. licensed night-time venues, sites used to dispose of evidence of crimes).
- *Routine activity theory*: the often ordinary behaviour patterns of offenders and victims that shape their potential exposure to crime.
- *Rational choice theory* (Cornish and Clarke 1986 cited Laycock 2004: 678): which assumes offenders make at least some informed decisions regarding their offending behaviour, with a focus upon immediate surroundings and any opportunities they present.

Figure 1 - Cohen and Felson's crime triangle (Reproduced from Laycock 2004: 678)



In formulating crime prevention strategies, Laycock adopts Cohen and Felson's (1979 cited Laycock 2004: 676) crime triangle (Figure 1), which posits that “three components are necessary for the completion of most crime – a suitable victim, a motivated offender and the absence of a capable guardian”. This makes it possible to conceive strategies which target only one specific factor, while acknowledging a more comprehensive approach may however be more desirable and successful. In considered an issue of crime or disorder, Laycock advises the establishment of a mechanism that might affect the spacial, social or physical environment associated with the phenomena. They emphasise that “it is the mechanism that should be tested, not the response itself, which may be insufficiently explicit and not simply transferable to other contexts” (Laycock 2004: 680).

We are thus testing a theory but need to guard against concluding that the mechanism failed (and therefore that the underlying theory was wrong) when in practice it may have been that the mechanism was not properly implemented or the means of measuring the intended effect was inadequate (Laycock 2004: 680).

Laycock (2004: 681-686) details a number of viewpoints to consider in developing responses to crime, much of which is summarised as follows:

- *Think thief* (Ekblom 1995 cited Laycock 2004: 681-682) in considering the choices an offender might make, being conscious of the potential for displacement including “spatial, modus operandi, crime switch, target switch and offender switch (Barr and Pease 1990 cited Laycock 2004)”, of offenders increasing their rate of offending (giving the example of a mandatory policy of arrest for family violence) or simply adapting to particular environments. For the latter, Ekblom's (1997 cited Laycock 2004: 682) observations on designing crime out are recommended for issues like vehicle theft.
- The use of crime scripts (drawing upon Cornish 1994 cited Laycock 2004: 682) is encouraged, “thus exposing a range of potential intervention points”.
- Crime or problem chains (Felson and Clarke 1999 cited Laycock 2004: 682) eg. escalation of burglary when confronted with occupants leading to rape, or crime classification systems potentially obscuring informed response development.
- Causally-linked factors and preconditions, such as drunkenness culminating in vandalism or assault, rendering certain interventions ineffective and favouring others.
- Van Dijk chains whereby victims in turn victimise others to cover their loss, providing Van Dijk's (1994 cited Laycock 2004: 683) example of residents stealing bins from neighbours to replace their own loss.
- Facilitating compliance by considering the motivation of offenders, not as individuals, but as a potential class.
- Offering pro-social opportunities or “crime free ways of filling in time” with the potential for development of informal social controls and norms (eg. school holiday/after school activities).
- Damping procedures including early warning mechanisms for crimes occurring in spates

such as domestic burglary.

- Crime facilitators (Clarke and Eck 2003 cited Laycock 2004: 685), physical, social and chemical, such as guns, loud group behaviour, or alcohol and other substance use.
- Ethical and related issues.

Implementation failure

Laycock considers project management and implementation integral to successful crime prevention, arguing that projects should be acceptable in financial or social terms and realistic in ambition, with a designated manager or responsible person ensuring implementation takes place as intended. Implementation can fail when agencies responsible have no direct interest in doing so and is considered a common source of failure (eg. mobile phone theft prevention measures, Harrington and Mayhew 2001 cited Laycock 2004: 686). Additionally, the “importance of using 'levers' to achieve higher levels of co-operation is becoming recognised (Laycock and Tilley 1995 [cited Laycock 2004: 686])” ranging from requests for data to substantiate that a problem exists to appeals to modify or apply civil or criminal law. Linking crime theory to particular situations, argues Laycock, “facilitates the development of the most appropriate response and, secondly, it makes much clearer the process of evaluation. Highly specific hypotheses can be set out...” (Laycock 2004: 688).

Approaches like Laycock's emphasise the value of discerning the diversity of local issues and contexts, of incorporating reflective and iterative planning, development and review of strategies and the need to provide clearly defined mechanisms for effective implementation and management. Laycock argues for a strategic approach to crime prevention, recommending integration within broader strategic frameworks, avoiding 'quick fix' solutions while encouraging greater consideration of the 'big picture' and longer-term solutions, not uncommon refrains in the literature. What then is

meant by the 'big picture'?

The political dimension of crime prevention

Hope (1995) observes that social scientists tend to believe the links between social theory, programs and research findings are easily translated, but that “practitioner accounts of community crime prevention often seem muddled, inconsistent, and untheorized”. They caution however, against converting “practical discourse into a rational theory” lest it obscure an understanding of the “*political* character of crime prevention” (Hope 1995: 22). Hope (1995: 22) explores how “... various forms of community crime prevention are interpreted not only as applications of criminological theory but also as complex pieces of sociopolitical action that also have a defining ideological and ethical character”, favouring the conceptual device of the “*policy paradigm*, “a curious admixture of psychological assumptions, scientific concepts, value commitments, social aspirations, personal beliefs and administrative constraint ... a guiding metaphor of how the world works which implies a general direction for intervention”” (Rein 1976: 103 cited Hope 1995: 22). Hope is interested in why such paradigms change over time, believing many are replaced only when their failure to address changing circumstances becomes obvious, rather than in response to an active search for “what works”, noticeably so in metropolitan areas where perceptions have changed considerably over recent decades, shifting crime prevention paradigms being one result.

Hope focuses particularly upon how community prevention has been interpreted, the types of issues programs were seeking to address and how successful they were as a policy response. A paradox is identified involving research (see Sampson; Bursik and Grasmick cited Hope 1995: 23) that suggests “community structure itself shapes local crime rates”, despite sustained failures of interventions targeting community structures to effect any change. As either a failure of theory or implementation, Hope favours the latter explanation.

Mechanisms of power and influence

Hope (1995: 24) argues that the complexity of “horizontal” dimensions of social relationships within residential areas and the “vertical” dimensions “that connect local institutions to sources of power and resources in the wider civil society...” are both important and crucial to understanding community crime prevention. The 'strength' of horizontal mechanism and capacity to control crime depends in large part upon the vertical connections residents have to resources. Hope contends that a key challenge for community crime prevention is “...their powerlessness to withstand the pressures towards crime in the community, whose source, or the forces that sustain them, derive from the wider social structure.

With this challenge in mind, community crime prevention, safety and development is examined in more detail to identify some of the obstacles and opportunities that might be encountered by communities and how they might effectively respond to the contemporary social, economic, political and cultural environment in which they live, with particular regard for the local and personal experiences of individuals, firstly by providing an overview of the historical, geographical and demographic characteristics of Clarendon Vale, Tasmania.

Chapter 6 - Overview of Clarendon Vale

Figure 2 – Clarendon Vale in relation to Hobart



This project concerns the local community of Clarendon Vale, a small Tasmanian suburb on the fringe of Hobart's Eastern Shore urban expanse (see Figure 2). In 2012 it had approximately 1,348 residents and 541 dwellings. The median age was 30, with an unemployment rate of approximately 19% in comparison to a rate of 6.4% of Tasmania's total population. Census data records that 11.1% of the population identified as being Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander, compared to 4.0% of Tasmania's total population. Median weekly household income was recorded as \$641 (ABS 2012).

What is Clarendon Vale like? The area has attracted some media attention over the years, primarily

by way of crime reporting, public housing properties being burnt, assault, a murder, drug use, car theft and vandalism being common themes. It attracts little in the way of positive media attention, other than reporting upon Clarendon Vale Neighbourhood Centre (CVNC) or local school initiatives. At best, Clarendon Vale seems to struggle with a reputation as a suburb of 'battlers' with the occasional glimmer of achievement, although media depictions and public perceptions can easily be distorted. Without industry, any appreciable employment opportunities locally and a relatively youthful population, it may well be that for most people, life simply proceeds unremarkably from an outside perspective unless something 'newsworthy' occurs, crime and disorder being disproportionately represented in such reports to thus inform wider public perceptions.

Spending an extended period of time in Clarendon Vale and CVNC provides insights into some of the characteristics of a relatively small community, directly by way of getting to know volunteers and local residents who in a variety of ways make use of CVNC. During this time a considerable amount of informal discussion was undertaken which informed formal interviews, in providing a more detailed picture of the local area and the complexities and inter-relationships of various issues. CVNC itself is located near the local shop, skate park, playground and primary school. In recent months this location has been dominated by the construction of a purpose built Child and Family Centre, while an adjacent building has been renovated to provide CVNC with new premises. The existing CVNC building will then house the Community Shed and other community orientated programs.

In describing the positive effects of the Bridgewater Urban Renewal Project (BURP), another suburb sharing many of the qualities and developmental history associated with Clarendon Vale, Downie (2001) conveys some of the structural, historical and policy implications of Hobart's urban

development by saying:

I expect a lot of you are wondering why Bridgewater was in such poor shape prior to BURP. Bridgewater is situated on the Midlands Highway, 21 kilometres from the centre of Hobart. Most of the town was built in the 1970's by what was then the Housing Department (and I'll hasten to add that the Housing Department of the 1970's is a very distant relative of today's Housing Tasmania!) Bridgewater and Gagebrook were originally planned as towns for 25,000 people but only about half of the proposed town was built. Thankfully, people all over the country started asking questions about the effectiveness of developing large public housing estates, commonly called broadacres. As a result, many planned broadacres were not completed, including Bridgewater. Instead, greater focus was placed on incorporating public housing into existing suburbs and reducing the density of public housing.

Figure 3: Old (right) and new (left) CVNC, Child and Health Centre (background)



In many respects, suburbs like Clarendon Vale bear the legacy of past decisions. Most have experience little development and change except that undertaken at a neighbourhood or community house level. Recently, 'infill' of the residential area is slowly occurring by way of new residential blocks being released for sale, while nearby, additional urban development is slowly changing the surrounding landscape. Most prominent of all being the recently built Child and Family Centre, a significant financial and policy investment by state government within Clarendon Vale.

Crime and safety in Clarendon Vale

This project was not intended to determine the quantitative character of crime, anti-social behaviour or safety concerns in Clarendon Vale. In practice, such information remains largely unobtainable. In short, there is no simple 'database' or 'portal' whereby one can identify patterns of crime in one's local area, street or region, the types of offences, perhaps even specific local warnings and reminders. Such arrangements might exist elsewhere but for researchers, community groups or indeed agencies interested in crime and safety,, the state and its key agencies in Tasmania hold many of the cards needed to inform an effective suite of responses or undertake evidence-based analysis in advocating for a particular intervention approach.

The Review and Evaluation of the Officer Next Door (OND) Program (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009) does however provide a relatively detailed account of the nature and distribution of crime and anti-social behaviour in Clarendon Vale, this suburb being the subject of a specific case study and so warrants particular attention. The Officer Next Door Program itself is premised upon ideas of crime prevention and community safety, although not exclusively so. From a community policing perspective, “incivilities or social disorganisation theories; colloquially 'broken window' or 'quality of life' theories” (see Fielding & Innes et al cited Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 20) are said to inform this approach and related to particular levels of informal control and the fear of crime:

The basis of community policing is to create conditions in neighbourhoods that will allow for informal, subtle and complex social controls to flourish and prevent conditions which allow situations like drug dealing to flourish (Duffee et al., 1999; O'Shea, 2007 cited Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009:

21).

The Review provides a quantitative picture of crime and public safety in several suburbs across Tasmania, using a written survey form. It also draws upon Tasmanian Police records of crime

reports to provide a spacial analysis of how different crimes are distributed. In brief, the Review found in relation to crime patterns, “demographic patterns did not mirror the crime rate for the nine research sites”. Clarendon Vale's crime rate in 2003 was ranked highest at 19.9%, some sites having rates below 9%. The rate at one site, Rocherlea (9.3%), was observed to rise dramatically year following year (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 25).

Survey respondents highlighted some of the diversity of experiences local residents had of their suburb. Perceptions of personal safety around the local area were one example of such contrasts. Overall, fewer than a third of residents felt safe walking around their local area. Clarendon Vale rated amongst the three 'least safe' suburbs (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 38). In contrast, while it experienced the highest level of recorded crime “between a third and a half of all Clarendon Vale residents felt safe at home alone, at home at night and walking around the neighbourhood” (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 77-78).

The perceived sources of problems in the local area were revealing. A significant proportion of those surveyed felt that Housing Tasmania needed to address the issue of safety locally. Clarendon Vale respondents amongst the three sites in most agreement with the corresponding survey statement (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 40; 78). Across all survey sites:

Approximately, 70% of OND respondents rated feeling unsafe about anti-social behaviour, burglary, criminal damage, drug crimes, excessive alcohol consumption and violence in public places. This contrast with arson, domestic violence and sexual assault, of which respondents reported feeling safer, particularly in relation to the last of these (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 40-41).

One finding specific to Clarendon Vale concerned the distribution and perceptions of crime and safety locally:

...it was noted that four streets stand out as being the primary sites of reported criminal activity in

Clarendon Vale. In particular, the crime rates for Mockridge Road and Saladin Circle are significantly higher than would warrant given the number of properties in these streets (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 78).

However, the heightened crime rates in Clarendon Vale, and specific areas of Clarendon Vale, do not map directly against the reported perceptions of safety and fear of criminal activity and anti-social behaviour (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 74).

Crime reported on Saladin Circle was associated with “the actions of people living in the street and acrimonious neighbourhood relationships” (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 77), whereas criminal activity on Mockridge Road was more closely tied to things like vehicle activity on the street itself, rather than particular residences. Such variations in crime type and distribution were not limited to streets with high proportions of public housing either, it was found, suggesting a complex array of factors and interactions. Perceptions of safety and crime were also complex and demonstrated significant local variability. For example:

...residents of Mockridge Road reported much higher rates of safety across all five ‘fear of crime’ variables than the general Clarendon Vale population. In contrast, the five respondents from Saladin Circle reported significantly lower rates of safety, particularly in relation to being safe at home at night, and walking around the neighbourhood (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 79).

One of the most pronounced findings related to residents' concerns about car crimes, particularly hooning. Over 88% of survey respondents reported feeling unsafe about such crimes in their suburb, particularly so in Bridgewater, Clarendon Vale, Gagebrook and Rocherlea (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009 42):

Clarendon Vale residents consistently mentioned drug crimes—along with hooning, irresponsible young people and domestic violence—as a major impediment to safely residing in the community. Some of these criminal and anti-social behaviours raised in the qualitative statements have not translated into the results from the questions (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 80).

The Review also highlighted the relative level of concern about crime and safety in comparison to the population as a whole, drawing specific attention to driver behaviour, young people and vandalism:

What stands out in the OND research is the relatively higher levels of concern about car crimes (including hooning and dangerous driving), irresponsible young people and vandalism. While 40% of ABS respondents were concerned about car crimes such as dangerous driving, 88% of OND respondents felt unsafe. However, a starker picture emerges when the ABS and OND results on levels of concern about irresponsible young people and vandalism are compared. While only 15% of ABS respondents were worried about young people, four times as many OND respondents felt unsafe (79%). Equally, only 25% of ABS respondents were concerned about vandalism, while three times as many OND respondents felt unsafe (78%) (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009: 41).

The above provides an introduction to some of the variations in crime, safety and local perceptions within Clarendon Vale. The OND Review findings can be seen to correspond well with a number of the observations made by residents both informally and during interviews.

Interview findings

Participants in the research who undertook formal interviews raised a number of issues, many inter-related, providing rich insights regarding their experience of living locally. The following 'themes', grouped as such, are based upon personal narratives incorporating local residents' own words where possible. These accounts provide a personal, spacial and social narrative of Clarendon Vale itself, highlighting the interconnections and consequences of the built environment and the geographic, social and economic characteristics of the suburb. The following, with explanatory commentary where relevant, seeks to convey the thoughts and views of local residents who generously participated in this research.

Figure 4 – Street map of Clarendon Vale

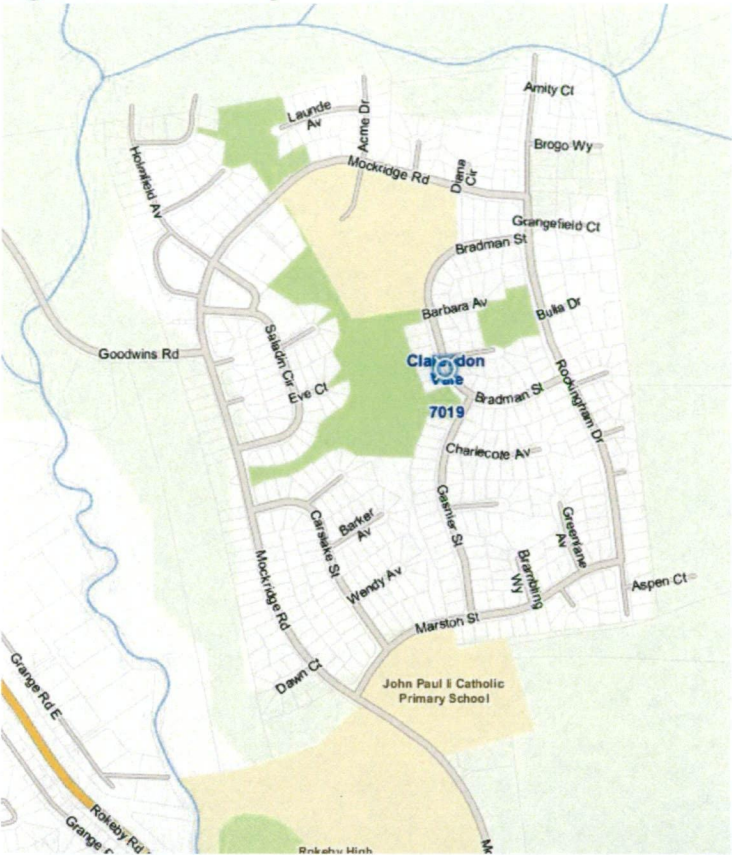


Figure 5 – Clarendon Vale (Google Earth) approximating street map



Figure 6 – Open parkland within Clarendon Vale



Urban Design

Clarendon Vale is relatively small in comparison to neighbouring Rokeby, a suburb that also contains large open spaces separating residential areas. Clarendon Vale has a number of cul-de-sacs, several short connecting streets or loops and one main thoroughfare, Mockridge Road, via which most vehicles enter and leave the suburb (see Figure 4). One of the defining features of Clarendon Vale is the way central open space (see Figure 5; Figure 6) connects various streets, providing convenient walking access to nearby locations like the local shop, primary school or playground. The suburb is also surrounded by farmland and bushland on most sides, meaning many streets become dead ends (see Figure 5). Some of these are blocked with built barriers, gates or large rocks to prevent vehicle access.

Such an environment might be considered desirable in some situations, effectively semi-rural in nature, providing open space and views, recreational opportunities and convenience for pedestrians. During previous research it was noted that houses surrounding central parkland were typically orientated to faced away from this space further reducing any natural surveillance of the area. Given some participants did not drive or own a vehicle, walking around Clarendon Vale was a common activity, to attend the Neighbourhood Centre or local shop, collect or take children to school, visit friends or catch buses. Local residents, particularly primary school students and families, regularly use these open spaces on a daily basis. Cyclists or pedestrians are afforded a variety of options to enter the parkland through footpaths, tracks (formal and informal) or across open land. This open residential design also allows motor vehicles and motorbikes to travel around Clarendon Vale. During many hours of observation, the field researcher noted various examples of this including motorbikes often ridden by young people singly or in groups passing the skate-park, playground, neighbourhood centre and primary school, often around finishing times when primary school students and parents were using the same parkland and walkways.

Clarendon Vale's open spaces were considered less desirable at night, given the dumping and burning of cars, the noise of motorbikes riding around and opportunities for people to evade detection. This quality, in combination with ready access to surrounding isolated farmland and bushland areas, makes policing such activities difficult. For one interviewee, 'Greg', a possible response was to "... block the paddocks off to stop the cars and crap ... Put rocks close enough ... big steel poles ... only a matter of time one of them motorbikes hit a kid coming out after school ... council prefer to wait until it does happen".

For some residents the convenience of walking tracks and paths during the day was eclipsed by the darkness, uneven surfaces, difficulties seeing other people and illegal activity that might be

conducted at night. 'Greg' commented that "... mainly old people don't walk through the paddock at night..." because "...they might get attacked or something". 'Greg' added some historical context by noting that "...there used to be a park down there...when they took it out they left it all uneven" and that it was a "...bit much for the old people ... women about 60 won't walk through there ... the ground's too uneven". For another resident, 'Claire', walking via the central parkland at night was considered hazardous. "I've already broken my ankle going through there ... it's very dim lighting". One participant, 'Mel', did report using the central parkland tracks at night. For them, being unable to see people coming ahead was a concern however. Clearing some of the trees while making the greenery more pleasing was a solution they suggested.

'Tim' described how things had changed over the years. "A lot of old people are too scared to do anything, I mean years ago you'd see older people walking through the park" 'Tim' described the sort of verbal abuse older residents might experience today, such as "...ya old cunt, I'll kick ya fucking head in' ... When they hear that, they're not going to go outside again". Besides a general concern associated with open public spaces, certain areas of Clarendon Vale were sometimes considered undesirable and places to avoid in general.

Skatepark

Clarendon Vale has a limited range of recreational options besides informal open spaces. A large oval is located on the fringe of the residential area but is relatively isolated. Within the estate itself, the skate park and adjacent playground are the primary features specifically for young people, apart from those of local primary and high schools. One resident observed that the skate park was a focus for people to congregate and that "...a lot of trouble starts there". The skate park and adjacent playground seating and equipment are located next to Mockridge Road and the local shop. Their centrality makes them an attractive, logical and convenient location for people of various ages to

meet or congregate. The skate park and playground are located adjacent to one of the main thoroughfares for vehicles and primary junctions of pedestrian traffic using the open parkland and paths throughout residential areas. Their position between the Neighbourhood Centre and local shop adds a further social dimension to this location and the type of use it receives.

It is at night that the skate park becomes a problem for some residents. Young people gathering late in the evening, anti-social behaviour, evidence of broken glass and vandalism have contributed to this perception. One resident commented that Rokeby's skate park was much larger and better situated, lacking many of the problems observed in Clarendon Vale. Poor lighting and the skate park design were typically considered to contribute to these problems. In this respect, a review of both skate parks in some form for comparison might yield useful ideas for change or modification, in consultation with young people themselves and local residents more widely.

Playground

Safety and appropriateness of the location and design of the playground and adjoining skate park were issues many residents commented on. For 'Dianne' security at night was a concern. "I think it needs more lighting near the park... a bit more lighting ... more security I suppose, probably a fence around it", a reasonable point given vehicles legally and illegally pass the playground its proximity to the adjacent Mockridge Road traffic. Another resident, 'Tim' commented:

I dunno, it's next to the main road, next to the shop, one pissy light, and half the time, well that's only just started working in the last 12 months ... it used to be pitch black around here, you can't even walk up the pathway [central parkland]without tripping arse over tit ,you can't see two foot in front of you ... put a bit of light in there, 'nah, what's the point, they'll only fuckin' wreck 'em', true.

Vandalism was considered a problem around the playground area. 'Tim' also commented:

Well, like swings they just fucking wreck 'em, like they built these slides on 'em here, they used to have

slides on 'em and they just burn 'em because they were plastic, you build something and they just destroy shit. There's 48 grand worth of equipment here, 61 for there, nobody uses it.

Social problems

Local residents had fairly clear ideas about whom they considered a problem in the local community, those who were involved in drugs, crime and neglect of children, those that might intimidate others and where such people were concentrated. 'Claire', who had lived locally for some years in a public housing property, believed that the mix of residents moving into the area had changed over time:

I think there's more undesirables being moved in...the drugs are the biggest problems and alcohol ... seems to fuel ... child neglect ... no food ... it's endless ... stealing cars to get their next fix ... I think the drugs come before anything else.

This observation highlights two widespread perceptions amongst local residents; that public housing tenants with significant personal issues like substance abuse and child neglect were moving into the community and that Housing Tasmania placements and policies contributed to this situation. The perception of Clarendon Vale hosting concentrations of residents with significant personal issues and needs is one that not only generated frustration within long-term residents. While this research did not determine if Clarendon Vale received a disproportionate number of placements of those with high needs or challenging behaviour, there was a wide belief that the high tenancy turnover of some public housing properties and concentrations of such properties in particular streets was an ongoing source of social disharmony and increased the level of crime locally.

The concentration of what other residents often regard as troublesome and disruptive residents (often associated with public housing) in specific streets was a commonly held perception of local

residents. This correlates with many of the findings of the OND Program Review on the spacial distribution of crime and safety in Clarendon Vale (Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell 2009).

Young people

“...there’s always kids around, they’re out looking for something to do.” - 'Claire'.

Participants had a variety of views regarding young people in the community, ranging from uncontroversial acceptance, occasional discomfort and fear of abuse to concern for their lack of supervision and home environment. For 'Greg' it was simply a case of “you treat them alright, they treat you alright”. Dianne, one of several participants who had experience of living in Clarendon Vale and Rokeby, observed that:

...I reckon there should be more supervision for younger kids 'cos there's like the kids who are out of a night time probably about 10 years old, 12 years old, out of a night time still and they are out about half past nine, ten o'clock and they usually play...out there in the park...motor bikes go up and down on the streets, they do burnouts.

'Dianne' commented that such issues were not exclusive to Clarendon Vale. “I think it's everywhere, Clarendon Vale, Rokeby, probably Bridgewater, Gagebrook, it's everywhere really, the same, lot of drugs”.

Guardianship

One of the most consistent comments from local residents, formally and informally, concerned their reluctance to contact police for fear of retribution or disapproval. Interestingly however, this does not mean local residents always passively endured anti-social or illegal behaviour. One example, explained in considerable detail during informal conversation and formally by two interview participants, involved what once participant called “...the best street in Clarendon Vale”. When “a

car comes burning down the street ... people come out and throw bricks at the car”. This street was considered particularly friendly, local residents reporting good relationships with their neighbours. “...it's one of those streets where a lot of people are buying”, said one interviewee, suggesting this spontaneous expression of guardianship and informal social control had made it a more attractive location to live in general. This illustrates an interesting expression of social capital and guardianship, although one having potential disadvantages such as overt conflict.

Stigma

Some residents commented on the stigma or perception that Clarendon Vale was prone to crime and contained a lot of people involved in offending. While Clarendon Vale does experience some crime and social disorder, it is not unique in this respect. As 'Dianne' observed, “...over at Rokeby they still have shootings and stabbings”. Being a suburb with a high proportion of public housing properties, Clarendon Vale, like Rokeby, Gagebrook and Bridgewater, has attained a reputation in the wider community, sometimes fuelled by media coverage and given reign in online public comments. 'Craig', a long-term resident of the area observed that:

There's a stigma attached to the fact that a place is a housing commission area, I think it's unjust. Go and have a look, drive around the streets, tell me how many houses you see where gardens are quite nice ... it's a pretty fair indication to me that those people take pride in their home and they show it.

...

I always say, you get things on the news about people doing this, that and the other. There's no mortgage on how many people come from Clarendon Vale, it's all over the bloody place, somebody's embezzled \$200,000 and they're usually from Sandy Bay, and yet they're [Clarendon Vale] labelled 'that place'.

This is not to say that 'Craig' believed that everyone residing locally was living a conventional life, adding, “there are a few misfits in Clarendon Vale, like there are in any other suburb, and I don't care whether it's Clarendon Vale or Sandy Bay” [a suburb considered relatively affluent].

Police

The perceptions of local residents towards police tended to emphasise their perceived inability to address many of the problems and concerns within the local community. Police had recently appeared to be patrolling more often by car and on foot, something that local residents were aware of and seemed generally to approve of. Despite this, confidence that police can assist them was often tempered by concern for personal safety and possible retribution by offenders. For 'Dianne', a sole parent, the response to living locally was described as follows:

I stay inside and mind my own business ... it's safer to be that way because of, um, the repercussions of it...you could have your car burnt out, house windows smashed ... If you call the police and they just see what the police come there for, they might say 'Oh they dobbed me in to the police'. If they go over there then you're the worst in the world, they can still come back at ya, yeah.

'Tim', who had experienced ongoing problems, stated that “when people seen a cop car out the front they comment and I say, 'I just had my window smashed', what am I supposed to do?” Tim's response to crime locally was put thus: “Yeah well virtually now it's fucking stay in and shut up, I don't say nothing, don't see nothing...” Another participant, 'Claire', said that in her street “I have, for example, a woman that lives a couple of doors up from me, she had two cars burnt out because she got involved”.

Crime and anti-social behaviour

Crime was an obvious but certainly not exclusive concern for local residents. Certain activities and behaviours were widely recognised as past or potential events in Clarendon Vale. Shootings, stabbings, house raids, home invasions, car theft, arson, intimidation, verbal abuse and threats, drug dealing or intoxication were some of the problems residents expected to encounter, if not personally, then indirectly. Darkness seemed particularly conducive to certain forms of behaviour and activity. “They come out at night time, it's like fucking night life around here, whereas

during the day, look how quiet it is, look how quiet it is, you come out at 10 o'clock tonight it will be noisy, cars everywhere, bikes everywhere, kids everywhere ... Everyone does it at night time" - 'Tim'.

Graffiti

Graffiti itself was not a major issue for local residents, rarely generating comment. One particular piece of 'street' artwork is found in Clarendon Vale, a large mural covering a fence beside the local shop, providing a colourful addition to the area. This artwork, produced by local youth, remains intact after several years, suggesting widespread acceptance and appreciation by local residents and possibly, that a degree of informal control or inhibition to vandalise it exists. "They haven't touched it since I've been coming to the centre, it's been good" - 'Dianne'.

Vandalism

Acts of vandalism identified by local residents varied from random damage to homes like wrecked or stolen letterboxes and broken windows, destruction of playground equipment as previously described, or damage to facilities like CVNC. One resident stated that "I had gunshots, a shot at the window" and rocks thrown on their roof. Vandalism to the CVNC building renovation and new Child and Family Centre during construction involving broken windows and interior plastering were obvious during this research and were the subject of much informal conversation. The existing CVNC building itself also had a window broken during this time.

Little comment was made in relation to the burning of housing or other property, though several obvious examples existed. This was not a specific topic of inquiry during interviews and informally, the subject attracted minor attention. Such incidents are routinely covered in local media.

Causes

Some participants clearly saw crime as being closely associated with particular families, specific streets, or 'undesirables'. "It's the families, you got brothers and sisters who are fucking criminals, well they're doing it, I'll do it ... Get the rif raf out of here mate, Clarendon Vale would be empty, there'd be about ten families living there by the time they got rid of the rif raf out of there"- 'Tim'. While 'Tim' might be exaggerating the numbers of dysfunctional families in the area, the underlying belief that family was a key factor in young people becoming involved in offending behaviour was commonly enough expressed.

'Claire' described how, as a parent, she managed to raise her children locally. "I kept my kids interested, involved in sport 'cos it gives them an outlet...keeps them occupied...training two nights a week ... they haven't got time to think about doing anything bad". 'Claire' believed that a lack of activities like sport locally were one factor in young people getting involved in offending or anti-social behaviour and that the role of parents was instrumental in this objective. She believed some parents of children not involved in activities like sport lacked the finances: "...and why can't they afford it? They need their money for drugs and alcohol". 'Claire' was particularly supportive of measures that nonetheless facilitated young people's involvement in sport and recreation, saying, "When you look at it the cost of it, getting a child involved in sport, against the cost". She identified prevention as being a much more cost-effective approach than traditional policing and judicial mechanisms in response to crime.

A lack of parental supervision, particularly at night, familial substance use and modelling of offending behaviour were considered significant factors in the production of crime within Clarendon Vale. "They start at that age they got no hope" said 'Tim'. Others identified a culture amongst some residents, a "criminal mindset", a lack of respect for the law, authority and other

people. This “...minority spoil it for rest...”, said 'Craig'.

Violence

Verbal abuse was a common experience for some residents, leading them to avoid going outside, modify their pattern of travel or limit their children's outdoor play. The stabbing murder of a young man in recent times had a wide impact upon the local community. One resident observed that the whole community was affected, the families involved being widely known to local people.

At a different level, bashings, home invasions and stand-over merchants concerned some people. While participants did not report direct experience, such issues seemed to be common knowledge. 'Tim believed that “It's mainly druggies that get home invasions, they got kids too”.

When asked about the types of services and supports people felt would be desirable locally, 'Claire' said “...doctors you can forget about them ... anger management, a lot of people need that”.

Substance use

Drugs, including alcohol and tobacco, were considered to contribute to family poverty and ongoing reliance on food support. Poor budgeting and drug use was seen to impact upon some children but more generally, led to conflict over drug transactions, accrual of debts or as a motivation to commit crime to obtain money.

Vehicle theft

The theft and arson of motor vehicles in the local area is one issue that attracted considerable attention, unavoidably so perhaps when the evidence is so obvious. Within the central parkland of the estate, stolen cars are often burnt, the scorched earth and molten remnants visible to anyone walking by after removal. During informal discussions with local residents it became clear that one

event had become part of local lore, while highlighting the scale of the problem. As some residents relate, several years ago teams collected several hundred vehicles, burnt out or otherwise dumped, crushing them on-site with a portable device and loading onto trucks to be recycled. These vehicles were originally found scattered throughout surrounding bushland.

Some of the explanations offered by local residents for the theft and arson of vehicles suggest it is viewed by those responsible as “Just a bit of fun, I think they just want fun, to burn out cars” - 'Dianne'. Those involved in such activities were believed to be relatively young people, “...probably a lot of teenagers or probably a little bit older”. 'Greg' believed it was the “same small group” and claimed that they “always leave them near Saladin circle”, a street widely regarded by local residents as a location particularly prone to crime and conflict.

Motorbikes

For 'Dianne' the issue of illegal motorbike riding was a difficult one to address. “I don't know because every time you try and ring the police ... the police got to be here to catch them and when they come here they can't catch them, the motor bikes are just gone”. The ease of escape and onus upon residents to identify riders to police only adds to the feeling that “...there's not much they can do about that”. While others suggested measures to block access to open spaces it was generally recognised that such approaches would be difficult, given the extensive boundaries involved.

Victimology

The views of local residents as to who might be a victim of crime were particularly interesting in that many residents felt that there was “a lot people caused themselves”. For those involved with illicit substance use, acts like bashing and home invasions were considered inevitable consequences. Affairs were cited as another potential source of conflict between households.

A prevailing and oft repeated comment by local residents was that it was best to 'keep your head down', not become involved, avoid contact with police and as a result, avoid retribution or disapproval. "Just keep walking and ignore people" said 'Greg'. Many local residents expressed views that suggested being a victim of crime was largely related to one's own behaviour, that is, by not 'getting involved' one would be likely to avoid such problems.

Politicians

For one participant, the personal relationship sometimes developed with politicians was seen as a positive thing. Others took a more cynical view; "...it's just something they close their eyes to, you get politicians, they close their eyes at the fire station and open them again at the [police] academy ... it's only vote getting, they ain't gunna do it, it's only vote getting ... They can make all sorts of promises they like but they're not going to do it".

Volunteering and community participation

"They've been pretty good to me ... often ask me if I want food to take home ... respect" - 'Craig'.

As a community centre, workplace and social venue, CVNC performs a variety of functions and central point for Community Shed or other program participants to have breaks and interact with other community members involved in different activities. Activities like volunteering within community centres and houses, attending playgroups, school and after school activities or Community sheds, running a vegie co-op, obtaining help to negotiate forms or government agencies, accessing the internet or simply having a hot drink and a chat were valued by many local residents.

The level of volunteer involvement in Clarendon Vale Neighbourhood Centre, Community Shed and other activities is relatively high in Clarendon Vale. There are many regulars who assist with routine operations and more casual visitors who might enjoy the social interaction. For many participants there was a combination of factors that kept them involved. “It's like a social thing where I come in and do projects, I do courses, if there's courses available I do them, and just help people out” - 'Dianne'.

Change

“They could put in a public toilet here”

'Dianne', with family activities in mind, also suggested “a new park, a few BBQ areas, probably a gymnasium at the centre, probably a nice indoor pool...”. For 'Craig, reflecting upon sport and recreation opportunities locally, said “...maybe a police boy's club ... a swimming pool, but that'd cost too much money...”. For 'Claire' the issue was more clear cut. “We won't get a pool down here the nearest pool is Clarence, they won't put one in down here”. The expectation that Clarendon Vale and surrounding areas will develop over time is a seemingly reasonable belief. 'Dianne' commented:

Well I think they need a few more things like doctor's surgeries around ... they need a few more dentists around, like in this area, it wouldn't hurt...like Clarendon Vale and Rokeby, probably eventually they'll get a dentist' surgery down here...

A recent article in *The Mercury* concerned the disenchantment of residents in Bridgewater who had been promised a swimming pool some 30 year previously, highlighting the sense that such communities were being neglected by planners and government (Crawley 2011).

Recreation

“...there's nothing for kids” - 'Claire'.

Residents expressed a range of interests, often with CVNC as a focal point. Relocation of CVNC to a moderately larger building with a bigger meeting space and kitchen suitable for catering inevitably opens up opportunities to offer luncheons for older residents, something offered previously. CVNC and the Community Shed were currently delivering programs to engage primary and secondary school students in activities like carpentry but were limited by space to groups of around four at any given time.

Recreational opportunities were a commonly cited issue for local residents, for young people in particular. While informal use of skate park and playground areas provides a focus for young people, there are issues associated with location, design and unintended use that concern local residents. Beyond existing opportunities, local residents spoke about past and future opportunities, particularly for older youth and recognised a lack of options for this age group.

Involvement in sporting activity appears to have declined insofar as participation by local residents, young people and adults. While Clarendon Vale does have a local oval suitable for cricket, football or similar activities these are not as common as in the past when there “...used to be soccer ... football ... a group of men who play cricket ... you've got a group of men who play cricket, that's it” - 'Claire'. When asked why these sports no longer ran, the explanation given was “because the money wasn't there”. Activities like indoor soccer and cricket were other suggestions received. Recognising that some families had limited funds or transport options to participate in sporting activities, 'Claire' suggested “why not have it here?”. For older residents, having more activities at the Neighbourhood Centre was desirable, to cater for different age groups and interests:

- Something for “...middle aged people to mix with...” - 'Craig snr'.
- It would be nice if they had more courses or ... different people to come to use the centre -

'Dianne'.

- “Yeah, I've done a computer course, it would be nice if we could do a bit more training” -
'Greg'.

Participants varied in their estimation of how Clarendon Vale had changed over the years, some feeling that young people in particular and crime generally had become more recent issues of concern. Looking back over the years several local residents recalled the popularity of holiday and after school programs once delivered by local residents.

Things for kids to do, that's the main ... problem, nothing for kids...We used to have a program here, we used to have one in the school holidays....We used to have the school holiday program we'd get 60 kids here [agreement from others], ... we'd go to Bridgewater on the bus, take 'em swimming ... it's stopped...”

- 'Tim'.

'Claire' described what Clarendon Vale was like in the past when a landholder nearby made a site available for an annual motocross event staged in conjunction with a club. “The kids used to love it...always talking about the motorbikes”. 'Claire' also noted the annual Clarence Plains Festival, held in spring at the Village Green, being a large rectangular and well maintained grassed area surrounded by a picket fence, capable of hosting large numbers of people, temporary stages, stalls and recreational space. This event attracts many local residents and young people, while also promoting local services and supports, allows young people to perform music, is convenient to access and brings local community members and organisations together.

From accounts such as this it is evident that the local community did engage with young people in a positive manner and provide activities catering to their needs. Equally, the issue of motorbikes can be viewed in a different and more positive light when the historical context is included in any analysis. It is inevitable that young people in a semi-rural location will like motorbikes but how this is expressed becomes a key issue and challenge.

National crime prevention strategies

At a Federal level crime prevention policy is in part articulated by the Attorney-General's Department through the National Community Crime Prevention Programme (NCCPP). "The NCCPP Small Grants Programme, which featured a streamlined process for small crime prevention grants of up to \$5000, was announced on 1 May 2007. 417 projects were funded under this programme. All available NCCPP grant funding has now been awarded" (Attorney-General's Department: 2011a). How did Tasmania fare? Sexual Assault Support Service Inc. (SASS) received funding for an electronic whiteboard to "improve SASS's ability to train community professionals such as lawyers, doctors and police, which in turn has the capacity to have improved outcomes for victims of sexual assault" (Attorney-General's Department: 2011b). CCTV and security captured broad attention, featuring in various successful grants. As a technique, it was most frequently deployed in order to combat vandalism and provide security for residents or staff, including schools, community NGOs, church property and a dog's home. One aimed to "...eliminate or minimise the amount of vandalism to vital communication facilities and to rural householders by illicit drug taking, dumping of rubbish/car bodies and trashing of the local environment on the Mount Rumney Recreation Reserve".

Other programs sought to address social issues and particular demographics, a young driver education program (Gearing Up), a 'Bully Busting' education program for parents, a PCYC "...project for 9 to 12 year olds with social and behavioural difficulties to work with community mentors on carpentry and other related manual tasks in a workshop environment" and my personal favourite, Pool Safe For All, for the sheer logic of it:

To allow students from low socio-economic families access to daily swimming in the school swimming pool during school holidays with a qualified lifeguard. This will help prevent the need for local police and school staff to attend to students unlawfully entering the school pool and change rooms during school holiday periods (Attorney-General's Department 2011b).

While all the successful applicants appear to have certain merit and value, as crime prevention strategies generally, they have relatively specific situational and geographic applications with the potential to displace vandalism elsewhere. Additionally they emphasise the protection of public and institutional property rather than underlying social or economic conditions. With a maximum of \$5,000, often much less, such grants offer limited and non-recurring support for crime prevention initiatives and may well limit the scope and imagination of potential applicants for funding.

Tasmanian crime, social policy and community development

Tasmania has implemented a number of generally progressive policing and justice responses in recent years, including drug diversion cautions and youth diversion by way of community conferencing. Legislations criminalising homosexual acts was finally repealed and replaced with more progressive legislation. A major shift to family and relationship violence was enacted with the introduction of the *Family Violence Act 2004*, providing police with additional opportunities to intervene where family violence and abuse are identified. Although recidivism rates (within two years of release) are increasing, Tasmania's reported crime rate has also fallen steadily in recent years, as the figures shown here from *Tasmania Together's* online data (*Tasmania Together* 2013a; 2013b) illustrate:

Figure 7 – Re-offending rate

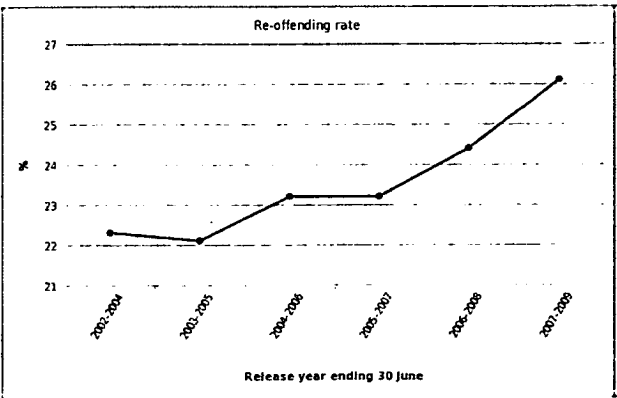
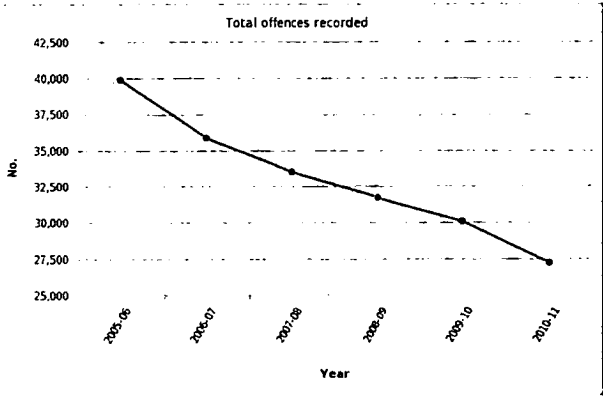


Figure 8 – Total offences recorded



Tasmania's small population in turn means proportionally fewer serious crimes to capture media and public attention. In comparison to larger state capitals like Melbourne or Sydney, Tasmania's crime and order landscape could readily be summarised as 'unremarkable'. Meanwhile, the Tasmanian Government has generated policy and practice that appears to favour notions of social inclusion, participation and community engagement.

'Whole of government' and 'social inclusion' policy

The Tasmanian Government has adopted a 'whole of government' approach to a variety of situations, using the term widely in policy documents. The Department of Premier and Cabinet Annual Report 2001-12 (DPAC 2012) records its first goal as being: "To lead the development of policy advice, direction and whole-of-government coordination" (DPAC 2012: 7). It later details priorities towards community engagement as being to: "Develop a best practice model of community engagement and participation, and engage with the community". Progress is recorded as follows: "Preliminary work commenced on the whole-of-government Community Engagement Framework, including drafting an issues paper and preparing a project plan" (DPAC 2012: 13).

Inequality and disadvantage

Baum (2008) describes Australian cities as being blemished by 'urban scars'. 'Archipelagos of disadvantage' may offer a less abrupt but meaningful description. The Tasmanian Council of Social Services (TASCOSS) Report on poverty, disadvantage and social inclusion comments that:

A key part of any social inclusion strategy needs to be coordinated and targeted plans for areas of concentrated disadvantage.

Tasmania cannot afford to drift towards becoming an island of division in which some prosper while others are denied opportunities because of the location in which they live, the family they come from, or their access to information and income (TASCOSS 2007: 2).

In response to such concerns and social inequality, the state government released *A Cost of Living Strategy for Tasmania* in October 2011 and *Food For All Tasmanians: A Food Security Strategy* in March 2012 (DPAC 2012: 28). While such documents do recognise inequality and disadvantage, they apparently emphasise relief and support initiatives rather than address any fundamental structural change, \$1.5 million given to 18 emergency relief organisations statewide being an illustration (DPAC 2012: 28-29).

Discussion

While there is ongoing debate around the development, application and review of crime prevention strategies, such approaches have nonetheless captured contemporary political and policy attention. In simple economic rationalist terms alone it makes sense in an environment where existing policing and criminal justice mechanisms struggle to effect appreciable changes to crime rates in many countries. The counterpoint to this policy shift is the ongoing role of media and political debate in contributing to public perceptions about crime, the causes and solutions forwarded, punitiveness being one of these that continues to exert influence despite the lack of evidence for its effectiveness as both a deterrent and means to reduce further offending. Increasing recidivism rates within Tasmania raise separate questions. The recorded decrease in Tasmania's crime over recent years however ought to logically favour alternative responses incorporating ideas like crime prevention and community safety. Potentially disrupting such debate however, is the role of media.

Contemporary media

One of the key challenges for communities like Clarendon Vale and other similar suburbs may be in relation to how the media portrays areas identified as economically disadvantaged or having high public housing densities. The biases in media portrayal of crime and order issues are perhaps predictable and mundane in local media, print dominated by a single newspaper, *The Mercury*

(Hobart), a typical range of digital television stations, a limited selection of commercial radio stations and various forms of online media, the *Tasmanian Times* being the most prominent 'independent' online news source. Two participants in particular observed that Clarendon Vale was neither unique amongst socio-economically disadvantaged suburbs in having particular crime and safety concerns. There was recognition that crime also occurs in 'wealthier' suburbs, perhaps qualitatively different but no less significant, observing that stigma was considerably less likely to ensue in such instances.

The potential to blame individuals and communities for problems is something media can reinforce. A recent story emerged that associated the closure of the dental clinic in Bridgewater with incidents of harassment including rock-throwing. Rather than focus upon say, identifying the offenders as an established media convention, the article reported that:

ANTI-SOCIAL behaviour, vandalism and safety concerns have forced health officials to close the doors of a community dental service at Bridgewater.

Over recent weeks, staff at the Bridgewater Children's Dental Clinic have been harassed, abused and had their belongings damaged. The centre has also been targeted by rock throwers and other vandals - even while young patients were being treated.

...

Cr Foster said he had not even been advised that there were any social or crime issues impacting on its future. "It is a bit disconcerting that a government agency can close a vital community service without talking to community leaders," Cr Foster said... (Kempton 2011)

The potential for reactions that resemble collective punishment was even more poignant several years previously when bus drivers reported assaults by passengers in Clarendon Vale itself:

A BAN on bus services to Clarendon Vale would lead to an increase in car theft and muggings in Hobart, a Clarendon Vale community worker says. Neighbourhood Centre steering committee chairman and Clarendon Vale resident David Wilton yesterday said his community would be greatly disadvantaged if

Metro cut services to the area. He said decent members of the community would be punished while the handful of people responsible for violence and bad behaviour on buses would resort to more extreme means to get transport (Hohenboken 2007).

Social media is also being used within the local community. Posting details of CVNC news and event provides avenue to counter negative media reports and author texts. Social media does however have the potential to cause social discord, even assault (see Killick 2011). The potential of electronic mediums to facilitate harassment, bullying and or even fraud suggest an ongoing review of such trends and developments in technology. Most importantly perhaps is an ongoing recognition of the role various mediums can play and how local communities might participate more effectively in authoring such texts. One might even include revision of the Wikipedia (2012) entry for Clarendon Vale which reads:

Clarendon Vale is a suburb of Hobart, capital of Tasmania, Australia. It is in the City of Clarence Local Government Area.

Like nearby Rokeby, it was originally a public housing area in the 1970s, however like the trend in many public housing areas in Hobart, much of the public housing stock has been sold to private owners. The suburb, along with adjacent suburb Rokeby, is considered by some as one of the lowest socio-economic suburbs in Hobart with a reputation for high crime rates, however the suburb includes built-from-scratch private housing areas which are considered safer than the main Clarendon Vale area.

Local opportunities

The eight residents interviewed during this research identified a number of issues and concerns, made various suggestions and expressed aspirations for change within the local community. Some of these topics readily fit within a CPTED or situational crime prevention framework and notions like guardianship. Reducing illegal or off-road vehicle activity within residential areas was an obvious example. Asquith, Eckhardt, Winter and Campbell (2009: 83-84) made the following

recommendation concerning the physical design of the Clarendon Vale:

- That Housing Tasmania, in conjunction with Tasmania Police undertake a comprehensive Crime Prevention through Environmental Redesign analysis, particularly in relation to the use of Mockridge Road and Rockingham Drive as hooning strips, and the use of the central parkland between Saladin Circle and Bradman Street as a cross-country trail bike circuit (op. Cit.: 83-84).
- That Housing Tasmania, in conjunction with other state and Federal government departments review the use of existing community buildings and public spaces, and explore the possibilities for further development of community services in the nexus between Clarendon Vale Primary School, local shops, the reserve and existing community buildings such as the Neighbourhood House.
- That Tasmania Police consider the option of creating local resources such as Community Support Police Officers (such as developed in the UK), and a weekly 'hot desk' based in one of the Clarendon Vale community buildings or vacant Housing Tasmania properties.
- That Housing Tasmania, in conjunction with Tasmania Police, work collaboratively with local community organisations (particularly, the Neighbourhood House) to source funding for bespoke, community capacity building programs (such as Men's Sheds, social and recreational events for children, and Landcare reclamations of public spaces such as the central reserve).
- That Housing Tasmania and Tasmania Police develop a strategic plan on the placement and tenure of OND properties, and the recruitment of appropriate ONDs. In particular, as soon as practicable, Housing Tasmania should remove at least one of the OND properties in the south of the community (Greenlane Avenue), and develop at least two properties in the north (on or near the intersections of Mockridge Road, Saladin Circle, Goodwins Road and Holmfield Avenue)

Considered in relation to contemporary literature reviewed here, one might consider expanding the range of stakeholders to include local residents (e.g. young people, families and older people), schools and CVNC, while thinking laterally as to the potential social and recreational benefits attached to any proposed changes to public space, giving thought to the notions of guardianship, situational prevention and problem analysis frameworks, incorporated within broader community

development approaches.

Within the broader context of national and state policy what opportunities and obstacles might a local community encounter when seeking to engage in change, particularly where crime, safety and community development are concerned? A key issue arising regularly in the literature is that of the need for a cohesive and co-ordinated response by government at all levels. Another important one is the notion that 'grass-roots' or 'bottom-up' processes should inform and direct local change. The identification of Housing Tasmania as implicit in local conflict was an important finding. A risk however, is that like previous decades, housing policy may again shift such that the non-government sector manages public housing properties, a trend beginning to influence Tasmania's public housing policy. Existing housing stock might indeed go the way of other states in being managed by non-government organisations, while new housing stock in Hobart has already been so developed under the Common Ground model favouring inner-city development, somewhat controversially and with international influences in evidence. While the future management of public housing in Clarendon Vale itself remains unclear, beyond the release of some additional housing blocks, there are far more practical and immediate considerations that local residents identified that centre upon local government. Such trends do fit the broader economic policies of governments both locally and in other developed nations like the UK and USA where neo-liberal economic models dominate.

Clarendon Vale skate park and adjacent play area was regularly identified as having particular problems. One of these concerns was the inadequate lighting and it is illustrative of a wider sense of neglect residents expressed in relation to their local needs by government. This area is serviced by what lighting is available along Mockridge Road and one "pissy light" that seems neither reliable nor effective. It is in fact a solar light, replacing a standard wired light that the Clarendon Vale Neighbourhood Centre had unwittingly been paying for via their power bill for some years. Once the situation became clear, council opted to install a solar light. Another issue to arise was the

advocacy by CVNC for a rubbish bin to be placed near the local shop, there being none available in the suburb. While this did eventuate, it was approximately three years before the request was acted upon.

A number of issues were also identified by participants that relate more to individual psycho-social factors, with an emphasis upon issues like substance use, violence, verbal abuse and intimidation. For some participants, inadequate supervision for children and a lack of recreational opportunities for young people were key concerns. Crime prevention itself is acknowledge by some to be less effective in relation to issues like these, or have indirect effects, such as promoting community participation and use of public spaces in a general sense. For Clarendon Vale itself, the construction of a Child and Family Centre remains the most significant attempt to intervene within the lives of families and young people, particularly children. Little information has been made available regarding the operation of this centre and it remains for future evaluators or researches to assess its impact, effectiveness and appropriateness. While its construction was prominent and associated with the refurbishment of a new premises for CVNC, local residents were generally unsure of its purpose beyond what might readily be gleamed from its name. Both the OND Review and local residents identify issues like public safety or social and recreational opportunities as more immediate concerns, particularly for older youth.

Chapter 7 - Conclusion

This project did not intend to quantitatively map specific crime and safety concerns within Clarendon Vale. It focuses upon the issues and concerns local residents themselves identified. It did seek to review the contemporary literature, theory and policy, on crime prevention, safety and community development. It identifies a conducive policy climate, receptive to socially orientated forms of community development. It further sought to identify some of the challenges and opportunities the local community might encounter in participating in change. While some general observations and tentative suggestions have been offered, how a local community might go about such change is a more immediate question than what might change.

Besides the detailed theoretical and analytical frameworks involving crime prevention (e.g. Laycock; Ekblom), there are various guides to planning, designing, implementing and evaluation of crime prevention and community safety from sources such as the Australian Institute of Criminology and the Attorney General's Department. Although they provide much detail, it is implementation and evaluation that gets the most attention, not how initiatives might be generated in the first instance. A more sophisticated appreciation and operationalisation of the notion of stakeholders that accommodates the growing focus upon local communities in the notion of crime, safety and responsibility would however seem appropriate within the wider policy and ideological context of Australian society today.

Amid these broader economic and ideological trends is the increasing expectation that individual and local communities be 'responsibilised'. Underpinning this is an expectation that social capital, capacity, confidence, skills and motivation exist in a given community, sufficient to respond effectively to the responsibilities placed upon it. Such expectations imply a reciprocal devolution of power, giving local control and access to the resources necessary to the task and to realise the

expectations being assigned to local communities.

For those communities experiencing particular disadvantage, local neighbourhood centres or houses provide an important avenue for advocacy, support and empowerment. In many respects, such institutions represent a fourth estate in governance and community participation. The greatest challenge is perhaps to overcome those qualities frequently observed to impede effective implementation of crime prevention and community safety strategies, most significant of all being the inconsistent and uncoordinated commitment to implementation both vertically and horizontally. As the co-ordinator of CVNC once commented in relation to dealing with the various agencies that either deliver local programs and services or control aspects of Clarendon Vale's physical and social character, there remains a 'silo mentality' that complicates and obstructs efforts to initiate change at a local level.

As Begg and Whelan (1998: 2) observed earlier, "The community is now increasingly being asked to participate in the crime prevention debate via the expression of needs and the onus is now clearly on government and the 'experts' to provide action". To adopt an analogy used in counselling, the techniques and strategies approaches like guardianship, CPTED, situational prevention comprise a 'toolbox' of potential strategies and interventions. Selecting the most appropriate depends upon the local circumstances. With this in mind it now seems incumbent upon the various levels of Federal and State government to provide local communities with greater access and opportunities to engage with and effect change within their own community, to develop the skills and confidence to do so and most importantly, a concrete and genuine opportunity to participate in and influence the wider social, economic and environmental factors which impact upon their individual circumstances. Government at various might well consider how the goals and ambitions expressed in policy documents like *Tasmania Together* are to be realised. Local communities also the keys to the toolbox

of potential responses and appropriate structures that enable them to participate. The views and insights expressed by participants in this research seem evidence enough that local communities are more than capable of doing so. .

References

- Asquith, Nicole, Eckhardt, Mary, Winter, Romy and Campbell, Danielle (2009) 'Review and Evaluation of the Officer Next Door Program' Tasmanian Institute of Law Enforcement Studies
<http://www.utas.edu.au/tiles/research_projects/research_current_projects/Review_and_Evaluation_OND_Program_2009.pdf> (16 September 2010).
- Attorney-General's Department (2011a) 'National Community Crime Prevention Programme'
<http://www.crimeprevention.gov.au/agd/WWW/ncphome.nsf/Page/National_Community_Crime_Prevention_Programme> (27 June 2011).
- Attorney-General's Department (2011b) 'NCCPP Small Grants – Tasmania'
<<http://www.crimeprevention.gov.au/agd/WWW/ncphome.nsf/Page/RWP7E5E9DB8F0359D59CA25734C000382DB>> (27 June 2011).
- Australian Bureau of Statistics (2012) Census QuickStats 'Clarendon Vale' Code SSC60058 (SSC)
<http://www.censusdata.abs.gov.au/census_services/getproduct/census/2011/quickstat/SSC60058?opendocument&navpos=220> (20 December 2012).
- Baum, Scott (2008) 'Suburban scars: Australian cities and socio-economic deprivation' Urban Research Program, Griffith University
<http://www.griffith.edu.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0017/53009/urp-rp15-baum-2008.pdf> (16 September 2010).

Begg, Clive and Whelan, Stephanie (1998) 'Community Partnerships in Crime Prevention : Citizens setting the Agenda - and Beyond' <<http://www.acro.com.au/Reports/AIC%20Conference%20on%20Crime%20Prevention%20Hobart%201998.pdf>> (22 January 2012).

Carson, WG (Kit) (2004) 'Is communalism dead? Reflections on the present and future practice of crime prevention: Part One', *Australia and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 37(1) 1–21 <<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=090419530539075;res=IELHSS>> (7 August 2012).

Cherney, Adrian (2004) 'Crime Prevention/Community Safety Partnerships in Action: Victorian Experience' *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 15(3): 237-252 <<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=930535677572146;res=IELHSS>> (Jan 11 2012).

Cherney, Adrian and Sutton, Adam (2007) 'Crime prevention in Australia: beyond what 'works'?' *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology* 40(1): 65-81 <<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=769615651596197;res=IELHSS>> (13 December 2011).

Clarke, Ronald V (2004) 'Seven misconceptions of situational crime prevention' in Tilley, Nick (ed) (2004) *Handbook of Crime Prevention* Willan Publishing: Devon, UK.

Crawley, Jenifer (2011) 'Anger over lack of pool' *The Mercury* (Hobart) November 3 2011 <www.themercury.com.au/article/2011/11/03/273871_tasmania-news.html> (3 November 2011).

Department of Premier and Cabinet (2009) 'Supporting whole of Government initiatives'

<http://www.dpac.tas.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0015/112119/DPAC_Annual_report_2008-09_-_DPACs_contribution_to_Tasmania_Together.pdf> (4 November 2012).

Department of Premier and Cabinet (2012) 'Department of Premier and Cabinet - Annual Report 2011-12'

<http://www.dpac.tas.gov.au/__data/assets/pdf_file/0009/176949/DPAC_AnnualReport_2011_12.PDF> (4 November 2012).

Downie, Malcolm (2001) 'Community Building: Housing Bridgewater Urban Renewal Project

(BURP)' <http://www.aic.gov.au/media_library/conferences/cypc/downie.pdf> (20 December 2012).

Eklom, Paul (1995) 'Less Crime, by Design' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* (539):114-129 <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1048400>> (11 January 2012).

Geason, Susan and Wilson, Paul R (1988) 'Crime Prevention Theory and Practice' Australian

Institute of Criminology <<http://www.aic.gov.au/documents/E/1/A/%7BE1A7C03E-AE54-4F9D-B89A-B7C815BBDC3%7Dcptap.pdf>> (5 November 2012).

Glasbeek, Harry (2003) *Wealth by Stealth: corporate crime, corporate law and the perversion of democracy* Between the Lines, Toronto: Canada.

Hil, Richard (2000) 'Critical reflections on Queensland's crime prevention strategy' *Social*

Alternatives (19)4: 31-37 <<http://search.informit.com.au/fullText;dn=200107190;res=APAF>>

(10 July 2011).

Hinds, Lyn (2005) 'Three strikes and you're out in the west: A study of newspaper coverage of crime control in Western Australia' *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 17(2)
<<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=142783865964752;res=IELHSS>> (19 December 2012).

Hohenboken, Angus (2007) 'Bus ban idea 'unfair' Fears of increase in muggings, car theft' *The Mercury* (Hobart) 11 August 2007 <<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=anh&AN=200708111009510758&site=ehost-live>> (12 November 2012).

Hollis-Peel, Megan, Reynald, Danielle, van Bavel, Maud, Elffers, Henj and Welsh, Brandon (2011) 'Guardianship for crime prevention: a critical review of the literature' *Crime, Law and Social Change* 56(1): 53-70
<<http://www.springerlink.com.ezproxy.utas.edu.au/content/pg3505316121u86t/fulltext.pdf>> (24 January 2012).

Hope, Tim (1995) 'Community Crime Prevention' *Crime and Justice* 19: 21-89
<<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1147595>> (9 July 2011).

Homel, Peter (2005) 'A Short History of Crime Prevention in Australia' *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice* 47(2): 355-368 <<http://heinonline.org/HOL/Page?handle=hein.journals/cjccj47&div=24&collection=journals>> (5 July 2011).

Hughes, Gordon and Edwards, Adam (2004) 'Crime prevention in context' in Tilley, Nick (ed)

(2004) *Handbook of Crime Prevention* Willan Publishing: Devon, UK.

Killick, David (2011) 'Attack over 'Clazza bogans'' *The Mercury* (Hobart) 12 May 2011
<http://www.themercury.com.au/article/2011/05/12/229425_scalesofjustice.html> (12 May 2011).

Kempton, Helen (2011) 'Dental clinic's kick in teeth' *The Mercury* (Hobart) <www.themercury.com.au/article/2011/10/07/266801_tasmania-news.html> (7 October 2011).

Lawrence, Carmen (2005) 'Lecture Two: Fear of Crime' Freilich Foundation Lectures 14 September 2005 <<http://www.safecom.org.au/freilich-lectures2.htm>> (December 2012).

Laycock, Gloria (2004) 'Deciding what to do' in Tilley, Nick (ed) (2004) *Handbook of Crime Prevention* Willan Publishing: Devon, UK.

Lane, Mary and Henry, Kaylene (2004) 'Beyond Symptoms: Crime Prevention and Community Development' *Australian Journal of Social Issues*, The 39(2): 201-213
<<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=837929810418892;res=IELHSS>> (4 November 2012).

Lee, Murray and Herborn, Peter (2003) 'The Role of Place Management in Crime Prevention: Some Reflections on Governmentality and Government Strategies' *Current Issues in Criminal Justice* 15(1): 26-39
<<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=793117514542921;res=IELHSS>> (July 10

2011).

Morgan, Anthony, Boxall, Hayley, Lindeman, Kym, and Anderson, Jessica (2012) 'Effective crime prevention interventions for implementation by local government' Australian Institute of Criminology <http://www.aic.gov.au/media_library/publications/rpp/120/rpp120.pdf> (15 December 2012).

Mowbray, Martin (2005) 'Community capacity building or state opportunism?' *Community Development Journal* 40(3): 255-264
<<http://cdj.oxfordjournals.org.ezproxy.utas.edu.au/content/40/3/255.full.pdf+html>> (26 October, 2012).

Murray, Georgina (2006) *Capitalist networks and Social Power in Australia and New Zealand* Ashgate Publishing Limited: Aldershot, England.

Reiman, Jeffrey (2007) *The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Prison: ideology, class, and criminal justice* (eighth edition) Allyn and Bacon: Boston.

Sutton, Adam, Cherney, Adrian and White, Robert (2008) *Crime Prevention: Principles, Perspectives and Practices* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Tasmanian Council of Social Service Inc. (2007) 'An Unfair State? Poverty, Disadvantage and Exclusion in Tasmania' <<http://www.tascoss.org.au/Portals/0/Publications/Poverty%20Report%20Final.pdf>> (16 September 2010).

Tasmania Together (2013a) 'Proportion of adult offenders convicted again within two years'

<<http://www.tasmaniattogether.com.au/benchmarks#!/2/2/2>> (10 January 2013).

Tasmania Together (2013b) 'Total offences recorded'

<<http://www.tasmaniattogether.com.au/benchmarks#!/2/2/1/1>> (10 January 2013).

Tilley, Nick (ed) (2004) *Handbook of Crime Prevention* Willan Publishing: Devon, UK.

Travers, Max (2005) 'Evaluation Research and Criminal Justice: Beyond a Political Critique'

Australian and New Zealand Journal of Criminology, The (38)1: 39-58

<<http://search.informit.com.au/documentSummary;dn=808055471301863;res=IELHSS>> (16 June 2009).

Weatherburn, Don (2004) *Law and Order in Australia: rhetoric and reality* The Federation Press:

Leichardt, NSW.

White, Robert Douglas (2001) 'Criminology for sale: institutional change and intellectual field'

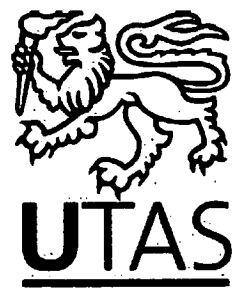
Current Issues in Criminal Justice 13(2): 127-142

<<http://search.informit.com.au/fullText;dn=20020386;res=AGISPT>> (16 June 2009).

Wikipedia (2012) 'Clarendon Vale' <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clarendon_Vale,_Tasmania> (20

December 2012).

Appendix A: Information Sheet



Information Sheet

Date _____

Local visions for healthy communities

Chief Investigator: Dr Max Travers
Masters Student: Michael Kenny

This research is focused upon recording the experiences of local residents and their visions for how the local community can be a healthy place in which to live.

The objective of this research is to record the views of local residents and provide a basis from which future planning and services can be developed that build upon local experience and knowledge.

This thesis is being undertaken as part of the requirements for Masters in Criminology and Corrections for the candidate, Michael Kenny and is intended to record and discuss ways local residents see their local community being a healthy place to live, to assist in future planning and program delivery, in collaboration with Clarendon Vale Neighbourhood Centre. This research will be supervised by the Chief Investigator, Dr Max Travers.

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary, potential participants being anyone residing within the Clarendon Vale community. If you agree to participate, I would be pleased to speak in an informal recorded interview for up to one hour, in a mutually suitable location. With your agreement, interviews will be transcribed and you can request to view, verify, modify, edit or withdraw the contents during the discussion or prior to any inclusion in any research. The interview transcripts will be retained for 5 years at the University of Tasmania, before being destroyed. However, you can elect to withdraw any data supplied at any time prior to October 2011 if you wish.

Participation is entirely voluntary and if you decide to take part in the study you can (i) decline to answer any question; (ii) withdraw at any time without effect or explanation; and (iii) withdraw any data supplied. Participants are requested to sign a consent form prior to participation.

Personal contact details or identifying information will not be included in the report. Anonymity will be assured and participants will be 'de-identified' and not disclosed in the thesis output. I will endeavour to deal with all matters discussed sensitively and in confidence.

If you have any questions relating to this thesis or if you would like a copy, on completion, you can contact the Chief Investigator, Dr Max Travers on 6226 2750 or Masters student, Michael Kenny by email: mckenny@utas.edu.au

This project has received ethical approval from the Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network which is constituted under the National Health & Medical Research Council. The Committees under the HREC (Tasmania) Network use the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans* to inform their decisions.

If you have any concerns of an ethical nature or complaints about the manner in which the study is conducted, you may contact the Executive Officer of Human Research Ethics Committee (Tasmania) Network. The Ethics Executive Officer can direct participants to the relevant Chair of the committee that reviewed the research. The Ethics Executive Officer can be contacted on 03 6226 7479, or human.ethics@utas.edu.au. You will need to quote H11891.

Participants have the opportunity of receiving a copy of the final overall thesis, which will be available upon completion and also held in the School of Sociology and Social Work at the University of Tasmania.

Thank you for taking the time to read the information sheet. You will be given copies of the information sheet and statement of informed consent to keep.

Dr Max Travers (Chief Investigator)

Michael Kenny (Masters Student)

Appendix B: Consent Form



CONSENT FORM

1. I have read and understood the 'Information Sheet' for this report.
2. The nature and possible effects of the report have been explained to me.
3. I understand that the study involves recorded discussions, for up to one hour, on how the local community can be a healthy place in which to live
4. I understand that participation involves a general discussion about the sorts of things that make a healthy community
5. I understand that all research data will be securely stored on the University of Tasmania premises for five years, and will then be destroyed.
6. Any questions that I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction.
7. I agree that research data gathered from me for the report may be published provided that I, or my organisation, cannot be identified as a participant.
8. I understand that the researchers will maintain my identity confidential and that any information I supply to the researcher(s) will be used only for the purposes of the research.

I agree to participate in this investigation and understand that I may withdraw at any time without any effect, and if I so wish, may request that any data I have supplied to date be withdrawn from the research.

10. I am aware that I am able to review transcripts, before inclusion in the thesis, and edit, modify or withdraw information if desired.

Name of Participant: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Statement by Investigator

☐ I have explained the project & the implications of participation in it to this volunteer and I believe that the consent is informed and that he/she understands the implications of participation

Name of Investigator _____

Signature of Investigator _____

Name of investigator _____

Signature of investigator _____

Date _____

Appendix C: Interview guide

General issues and potential questions for interview participants:

Environment

Views on local recreation, parkland, playgrounds, tracks, scenery...

Suitability for self, family, young people, elderly...? Changes...?

Built environment

Security and enjoyment locally

Shopping

Home satisfaction, eg, security/safety, comfort, access to services, supports, education/work...

local roads, walking tracks, parkland...?

Day/night differences in use/behaviour

lighting, graffiti, vandalism, noise eg. traffic, litter...?

Public transport, bus shelters...?

Social environment

Satisfaction with social life locally, things that would make it more enjoyable eg, venues, groups...

How well do you know other local residents and what might you like to change? eg. Meet more people, better relationship with neighbours...?

Community Participation

...in CVNC activities, other groups, programs eg child and family activities...?

What changes would you like to see in the local area?

What would encourage you to become involved in local issues, activities?

Change

What things would make CV a more enjoyable place to live?

How might these things be achieved?

Thoughts on crime...any concerns, suggestions...?

Confidence in police or others in the area to provide support/advice if needed?

Where would you go for advice about a problem in the local area, be it a hazard, concern for safety or security or someone else's welfare?

Appendix D: Twenty-five techniques of situational crime prevention

Aim	Technique
Increase the effort	Harden targets Control access to facilities Screen exits Deflect offenders Control tools/weapons
Increase the risks	Extend guardianship Assist natural surveillance Reduce anonymity Utilise place managers Strengthen formal surveillance
Reduce the rewards	Conceal targets Remove targets Identify property Disrupt markets Deny benefits
Reduce provocations	Reduce frustration and stress Avoid disputes Reduce emotional arousal Neutralise peer pressure Discourage imitation
Remove excuses	Extend guardianship Assist natural surveillance Reduce anonymity Utilise place management

(adapted from Laycock 2004: 679)

Appendix E: Seven misconceptions of situational crime prevention

Criticism	Rebuttal
It is simplistic and atheoretical	It is based on three opportunity theories: routine activity, crime pattern and rational choice. It also draws on social psychology
It has not been shown to work; it displaces crime and often makes it worse	Many dozens of case studies show that it can reduce crime, usually with little displacement
It divers attention away from the root causes of crime	It benefits society by achieving immediate reductions in crime
it is a conservative, managerial approach to crime	It promises no more than it can deliver. It requires that solutions be economic and socially acceptable
It promotes a selfish, exclusionary society	It provides as much protection to the poor as to the rich
It promotes Big Brother and restricts personal freedoms	The democratic process protects society from these dangers. People are willing to endure inconvenience and small infringements of liberty when these protect them from crime
It blames the victim	It empowers victims by providing them with information about crime risks and how to avoid them

(from Clarke 2004: 40)